

THE SO-CALLED INTRANSITIVE VERBAL FORMS

IN

THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES.

PART I. HEBREW.

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

FRANK R. BLAKE.

[From the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. xxiv, 1903, pp.
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*The So-called Intransitive Verbal Forms in Hebrew.*¹—By Dr.
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Md.

IN English grammar, and in Indo-European grammar in general, a transitive verb is one that takes a direct object upon which the action denoted by the verb is exerted, e. g., *kill*; *the man killed his brother*, while an intransitive verb is one that has not such an object, e. g., *sleep*; *the man sleeps*.²

In Semitic grammar there is more or less confusion in the use of the terms transitive and intransitive. They may refer, as in Indo-European grammar, to the exercise or non-exercise of the action upon an object,³ to the special forms of the two classes of verbs,⁴ or, finally, to the meaning of these verbs.⁵ This confusion is due to a characteristic peculiarity of the Semitic languages, namely that transitive and intransitive verbs are usually distinguished by a difference of form.⁶

Semitic verbs are practically all derived from stems containing either two or three consonants. The prevailing type of verb is the triconsonantal, e. g., Heb. קָטַל, and to this norm the biconsonantal verbs have been for the most part conformed,

¹ The present article is a portion of a larger work on the *Intransitive Verbal Forms in Semitic*. The complete material in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian is reserved for future publication.

² Cf. J. A. H. Murray, *A New English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1888-, vol. 5, p. 435b; *The Century Dictionary*, New York, pp. 3162b, 6433a.

³ Cf. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 165; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, Oxford, 1898, p. 120, § 43, a, b; Wright-DeGoeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge, 1896, vol. 1, p. 30; Socin, *Arabic Grammar*, Berlin, 1895, p. 25 f.; Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*,² Leipzig, 1898, § 160.

⁴ Cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; Dalman, *Gram. d. jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 199; Socin, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, Eng. ed., Berlin, 1889, p. 233; Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in d. semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1889, p. xv.

⁶ Cf. Steinthal-Misteli, *Charakteristik d. hauptsächlichsten Typen d. Sprachbaus*, Berlin, 1893, p. 458.

either by doubling the second stem consonant, verbs mediæ geminatæ, e. g., Ar. حَمَّ *hamma* < **hama*; or by lengthening the vowel between the two stem consonants, verbs mediæ infirmæ, e. g., Ar. قَالَ *qāla* < **qala*.¹ From every stem, triconsonantal or biconsonantal, may be made a number of forms or conjugations, the simple conjugation with simple verbal meaning, and a number of derivative conjugations, intensive, causative, reflexive, etc., and in every conjugation there are two so-called tense forms, a perfect and an imperfect, from which latter an imperative is derived. In the simple conjugation there are two verbal types, one of which is prevailingly transitive and the other prevailingly intransitive.

The difference between these two formal types lies in the so-called characteristic vowel between the second and third stem-consonants in triconsonantal stems, or between the two stem-consonants of biconsonantal stems. In general, transitive verbs have a characteristic *a* vowel in the perfect, and a characteristic *i* or *u* vowel in the imperfect, while intransitive verbs have characteristic *i* or *u* vowels in the perfect, and a characteristic *a* in the imperfect. In Hebrew and Syriac (according to the Nestorian pronunciation) characteristic *i* and *u* are lengthened to *ē* and *ō* respectively; in Ethiopic both become *ē*, which is synecopated in the perfect.² These two verbal types exist in all the Semitic languages except Assyrian, where the perfect, as such, has not been developed, and where the various characteristic vowels do not seem to have been used to differentiate between transitive and intransitive verbs,³ e. g.:

¹ Cf. A. Müller, *Verba*, י'י'י' and י'י'י', ZDMG., 33, p. 698; Lagarde, *Übersicht über d. im Aramäischen, Arabischen u. Hebräischen übliche Bildung d. Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889, pp. 12, 27; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.*, pp. 181, 201; Stade, *Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1879, § 143, 2; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*² § 177; Hommel, *Süd-arabische Chrestomathie*, München, 1893, p. 31, § 51.

² Cf. Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, pp. 83, 84; Dillmann-Bezold, *Gram. d. äthiopischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1899, § 19. The statement as to the *i* vowel in Syriac is given on the authority of Rev. Gabriel Oussani of Bagdad.

³ Compare the transitive verbs *imḥaṣ*, *imaḥaṣ* 'strike'; *iškun*, *išakan* 'put'; *iddin*, *inadin* 'give'; *irmuk*, *iramuk* 'pour out, wash'; *išbir*, *išabir* 'break in pieces'; with the intransitive verbs *ipšaḥ*, *ipašaḥ*

- Heb. *tr.* פָּקַד, יָפַקַד 'visit';
 נָתַן, יָתַן (< *īntēn*) 'give';
intr. כָּבֵד, יִכְבֵּד 'be heavy';
 קָטַן, יִקְטַן 'be small';
- Syr. *tr.* נִקְטַל מִכֵּד, קָטַל 'kill';
 נִבֵּן מִכֵּד, יָבֵן 'buy';
intr. נִדְמַךְ מִכֵּד, דִּמַּךְ 'sleep';
- Ar. *tr.* قَتَلَ *qatala*, يَقْتُلُ *yaqtulu* 'kill';
 ضَرَبَ *daraba*, يَضْرِبُ *yaḍribu* 'strike';
intr. فَرِحَ *fariḥa*, يَفْرَحُ *yafrāḥu* 'rejoice';
 حَسَنَ *hasuna*, يُحَسِّنُ *iaḥsinu*¹ 'be handsome';
- Eth. *tr.* ቀተለ *qatala*, ይቅጥል *ḡēqtəl* 'kill';
intr. አበሰ *īabsa*, ይደበስ *ḡēḡbas* 'be dry.'
- Ar. *tr.* قَالَ *qāla*, يَقُولُ *yaqūlu* 'say';
 سَارَ *sāra*, يَسِيرُ *yasīru* 'journey';
 مَدَّ *madda*, يَمُدُّ *yamuddu* 'draw, pull';
intr. خَفِيَ *ḥifta*, يَخَافُ *iaḥāfu* 'fear';
 يَحْمُ *iaḥammu*, 'be hot.'

'recover, get well;' *ikrub, ikarab* 'be propitious;' *uriq (liriq), urraq* 'be or become pale;' *ibluṭ, ibaluṭ* 'live;' *irpiš, irapiš* 'be or become wide.' The permansive, which corresponds to the perfect, has practically always characteristic *i* or *u* vowels, e. g., *marīṣ, maruṣ* 'be sick' (cf. however, McCurdy, *The Semitic Perfect in Assyrian*, Actes du VI. Cong. internat. des Orientalistes, Leide, 1884, p. 524), and regularly denotes condition or passivity.

¹ As the *u* perfect type of the intransitive verb is practically extinct in Syriac, and in Ethiopic has fallen together with the *i* type, it is difficult to say what was the original characteristic vowel of the imperfect, *a* as in Hebrew, or *u* as in Arabic.

The terms transitive and intransitive are also applied in Semitic to the nominal forms, but here again they are ambiguous. Sometimes they refer to the meaning of the words as being similar in kind to the meanings of verbs of the transitive or intransitive types,¹ e. g.

Hebr. *tr.* הֲרַג *pt.* 'killing,' cf. הָרַג 'kill;'
intr. כָּבֵד 'heavy,' cf. כָּבֵד 'be heavy.'

Sometimes they are used as indicating the derivation of a nominal form from a transitive or intransitive verbal form without regard to meaning,² e. g.

Hebr. *tr.* יָשַׁר 'straight' from יֵשֶׁר 'be straight,'
intr. כָּבֵד 'heavy' from כָּבֵד 'be heavy.'

The nominal forms in Semitic are usually regarded as derived from the verb. Lagarde derives practically all nouns from the perfect theme; Barth, part from the perfect and part from the imperfect theme. Hence both consider the vocalization of a noun as an indication of the original vocalization of the verbal forms of the same stem.³ There is no reason, however, for assuming such a close connection between all nominal and verbal forms. It is hardly probable that the large number of nominal forms should be derived from the few themes which occur in the verb. Moreover, these theories leave out of consideration entirely the influence of analogy in conforming words of related meaning to the same formal type.⁴

Although it is hardly possible, therefore, to assume, in the mechanical manner of Barth and Lagarde, that a verbal form had originally such and such a characteristic vowel, because that vowel is found in its nominal derivatives, it is true, nevertheless, that many verbal nouns and adjectives do offer more or less certain evidence as to the original form of a verb. These nominal derivatives are of two kinds, viz.

¹ Cf. Barth, *Nominalb.*, pp. ii, iii, iv, ix.

² Cf. Barth, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

³ Cf. Lagarde, *Übers.*, p. 27 ff.; Barth, *op. cit.*, p. xxii. ff., especially xxiv.

⁴ Cf. Huizinga, *Analogy in the Semitic Languages*, Baltimore, 1891, p. 32 f.

1) Those in which there is an organic connection between verbal and nominal forms, as, for example, verbal adjectives of the forms *qatil* and *qatul*, which are probably originally identical with the corresponding *i* und *u* perfects;

2) Those which, although there is probably no original organic connection, are made more or less exclusively from either transitive or intransitive verbs; for example, active participles of the form *qatil* may be considered specifically transitive, abstracts of the form *qatal* specifically intransitive.

The designations transitive and intransitive as applied in Semitic to the two formal verbal types and their derivatives are not entirely suitable. In the first place, the distinction between transitive and intransitive is, strictly speaking, purely grammatical and syntactical, and has *per se* nothing to do with the meaning of the verb. In the sentences, *he kills simply for the pleasure of killing*; *he is writing*; *he knows if anyone knows*; *I can't see*: the meaning of the intransitively used verbs *kill*, *write*, *know*, *see*, is the same as in the sentences *he kills animals simply for the pleasure of killing*; *he is writing a letter*; *he knows it if anyone knows*; *I can't see him*; where they are used transitively.¹

Secondly, the two classes of transitive and intransitive verbs are not coextensive with the two formal verbal types. Although a large majority of the verbs of the so-called intransitive type are intransitive, there are a number, especially those which denote emotions and actions of the mind, which govern a direct object, e. g., Heb. אָהַב 'love,' שָׂנֵא 'hate,' שָׁמַע 'hear,' etc.; while many verbs of the so-called transitive form, especially verbs of motion, are intransitive, e. g., Heb. יָצָא 'go out,' כָּרַע 'kneel down,' נָפַל 'fall,' etc. These numerous exceptions can not be satisfactorily explained as due simply to a mixture of transitive and intransitive forms: the real difference between the two verbal types is to be sought, not in the grammatical construction, but in the signification of the verbs.

The inadequacy of the terms transitive and intransitive has been very generally recognized, and various names for the two

¹ It is quite possible that originally all verbs were intransitive, indicating a condition or action of the subject without special regard to any object. Cf. Bréal, *Essai de Sémantique*, Paris, 1897, p. 210.

classes of verbs have been proposed with the idea of defining their nature more accurately. Böttcher calls the two classes *activa* and *stativa*; König employs the term *Zustandsverba* for verbs of the second class, while Gesenius designates them as verbs of "quality and emotion," or as verbs which denote "states and qualities," and in Lee's Grammar of the Hebrew Language they are spoken of as verbs of "sense and habit." Ewald uses the terms *active* and *halbpassive* to designate the two classes: Rosenmüller calls them *activa* and *absoluta*; Merx speaks of verbs of the second class as *descriptiva*, Duval as *neutres*. All of these terms point more or less clearly towards the distinction made by Böttcher, viz., that verbs of the first class indicate actions, while those of the second class indicate states or conditions.¹

Professor Haupt has suggested another theory. He calls the first and second classes respectively "voluntary" and "involuntary," or *verba voluntaria* and *verba involuntaria*, and thinks that the original distinction was one between volition and non-volition, verbs of the first class indicating originally an action or state which depends on the will of the subject, e. g., *kill, cut, look, walk*, etc., those of the second class indicating an action or state which does not depend on the will of the subject, e. g., *see, hear, fear, love*, etc.²

The following investigation comprises a study of the meaning and form of the so-called intransitive verbs in Hebrew, the term intransitive being used with reference to form only, unless otherwise stated. In the case of the nominal derivatives the term intransitive is restricted to those which are intransitive in the sense of the two categories given above. The investigation is divided into three parts:

¹ Cf. Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrb. d. Hebr. Spr.*, Leipzig, 1866, §§ 508, 564, 908; König, *Lehrgebäude d. Hebr. Spr.*, Leipzig, 1881, 1, 167; Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude d. Hebr. Sprache*, Leipzig, 1817, p. 231; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.*, p. 120; Lee, *Grammar of the Hebrew Lang.*, London, 1844, p. 182, ft. nt.; Ewald, *Ausf. Lehrb. d. Hebr. Spr.*, 8te Ausg., Göttingen, 1870, p. 338; Rosenmüller, *Institutiones ad Fundamenta Linguae Arabicae*, Lipsiae, 1818, p. 59; Merx, *Gram. Syriaca*, Halis, 1867, p. 212; Duval, *Traité de Grammaire Syriacque*, Paris, 1881, p. 176.

² Cf. Haupt, *Transitive and Intransitive Verbs in Semitic*, PAOS., 1894, p. ci. f.; cf. also Lagarde, *Übers.*, p. 6; Reckendorf, *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse d. Arabischen*, Leiden, 1898, p. 40.

1. List of stems which exhibit intransitive forms.
2. Discussion of the meaning of the intransitive verb.¹
3. Discussion of the intransitive forms.

1. LIST OF STEMS EXHIBITING INTRANSITIVE FORMS.

The characteristic intransitive verbal forms in Hebrew may be indicated in general as follows, קט and קט representing respectively any triconsonantal or biconsonantal stem.

Triconsonantal Verb.

<i>pf.</i>	<i>impf.</i>	<i>impr.</i>	<i>inf.</i>
קט, קט	יקט	קט, קט	קטלה, "ק, "ק or "ק.

Biconsonantal Verb.

mediæ geminatæ.

קט, קט (*pl.*)²; יקט; קט; קט.

mediæ infirmæ.

קוט; יקוט; "י, יקוט; קוט; קוט.

In verbs *mediæ geminatæ* the distinction between transitive and intransitive forms in the perfect is usually one between long forms like קטט and short forms like קט. In verbs פ" and פ" biconsonantal forms of the *mediæ geminatæ* type, made from the last two consonants of the stem, also occur, imperfects and imperatives in verbs פ", imperatives in verbs פ".

Many verbal forms are indecisive, *i. e.* it is impossible to judge from them whether the verb in question belongs to the transitive or intransitive type; such are,

1) All verbal forms in which the characteristic vowel is reduced to *sheva*, since *sheva* ordinarily indicates nothing with regard to the character of the original vowel; e. g., 3. *f. s. pf.* קטלה, 3. *pl. impf.* יקטלו.

¹ As the *u* perfect is comparatively rare in Hebrew, the question as to the difference in meaning between verbs with *i* perfect and those with *u* perfect will not be discussed. The treatment of this question belongs to the discussion of the intransitive forms in Arabic, in which language alone does the *u* perfect occur with any frequency.

² Cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* 1, 333 ff.; cf. also Ewald, *Ausf. Lehrb.*, p. 361; Olshausen, *Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Spr.*, Braunschweig, 1861, p. 486; Stade, *Lehrb.*, § 413. *e*; Müller, *Hebräische Schulgram.*, Halle, 1878, p. 105.

verbs ה"ל; verbal nouns of the forms קַטַּל, קַטְלָה, קַטְלָה, קַטְלָה, קַטְלָה, קַטְלָה, קַטְלָה, קַטְלָה.

In the following list, all those stems will be given which exhibit decisive intransitive verbal forms or intransitive derivatives. Verbs ה"ל without intransitive derivatives which exhibit intransitive forms in the perfect or imperfect, and verbs mediæ and tertiæ gutturalis which have no intransitive form except the imperfect or imperative, are given when the evidence of the cognate languages seems to show that the intransitive forms are original. All the intransitive forms in Hebrew will be given in the case of each verb in the order, perfect, imperfect, imperative, infinitive, adjective, abstract, except in verbs ה"ל, where perfect forms like גָּלִית and imperfect forms like יִגְלֶה are simply indicated by *pf.* and *impf.* respectively. Whenever a stem presents intransitive form in only a single instance, a reference to the Hebrew text is added; references are also given in other cases when it seems desirable. Decisive intransitive forms of the verbs in the cognate languages are given in the perfect when it occurs; if not, in the imperfect, in Ethiopic the subjunctive. Forms in Talmudic and Targumic Aramaic are given only when no decisive intransitive form, or when only the imperfect is found in Syriac, J., L. and T. indicating respectively that the intransitive form in question is given by Jastrow in his Targumic and Talmudic dictionary, by Levy in his Talmudic dictionary, or by the same author in his Targumic dictionary. As indecisive forms in the cognate languages are to be regarded, 1) *a* imperfects of verbs mediæ and tertiæ gutturalis in Syriac and Arabic, and *a* subjunctives of verbs of the same classes in Ethiopic,² 2) *a* imperfects of verbs tertiæ *resh* in Syriac,³ 3) syncopated per-

¹ No other nominal form can be regarded as specifically intransitive in the sense here employed. On the other hand, adjectives of the form קַטַּל like חָכֵם 'wise' seem to indicate the existence of *a* perfects with meanings like the *i* and *u* perfects, just as adjectives of the forms קַטַּל and קַטַּל indicate the existence of *i* and *u* perfects.

² Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*,² §§ 169, 170; Wright-DeGoeje, *Arab. Gram.*, vol. 1, § 91, rem. *a*; Dillmann-Bezold, *Gram. d. äthiop.-Spr.*, p. 161.

³ Cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, § 170.

fects of verbs *tertiæ gutturalis* in Ethiopic,¹ 4) perfects of the intransitive form of verbs *tertiæ infirmæ* in Targumic or Talmudic.² The Syriac forms are given also in Hebrew transliteration, the Arabic and Ethiopic in Roman transliteration. *Metheg* indicates that a form occurs only in pause; * before a stem or noun form indicates that the stem does not occur in *Qal*, or that the nominal derivative is not found in the exact form given; † indicates that references to all the verbal forms of a stem are given: *pf.*=perfect, *impf.*=imperfect, *impr.*=imperative, *inf.*=infinitive, *a.*=verbal adjective, *abst.*=abstract, *c.*=construct state, *pl.*=plural, *adv.*=adverb, *prep.*=preposition, *i. p.*=in pause, *s.*=with suffixes, *tr.*=transitive in construction, *intr.*=intransitive in construction, *pt.*=active participle, *pt. p.*=passive participle, *kt.*=kethîv; the abbreviations for the books of the Bible are self-explanatory.

The List.³

1. אָבַד (אָבַד), אָבַדָּה; אָבַד אָבַד; אָבַד; אָבַד; אָבַד;
ä'bad) 'wander, vanish, perish.'
2. אָבָה (pf. *impf.*; יָאָבִי *ä'ba* and אָבַד; *ä'bai* 'be unwilling, refuse') 'be willing.'
3. אָבַל (אָבַל), אָבַל; J. L. T. אָבַל 'lament, be sad.'

¹ Cf. Dillmann-Bezold, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

² Almost any verb in these Aramaic dialects may have both transitive and intransitive perfects without regard to meaning, e. g.: מָלָה, מָלָה, 'be full,' מָחָה, מָחָה, 'strike,' etc.

³ The following lexicons have been employed in the formation of this list, viz.: Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch über d. Alte Testament*, Leipzig, 1899; Siegfried-Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch z. Alten Testamente*, Leipzig, 1893; R. P. Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxonii, 1868-1901; C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Berlin, 1895; Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature*, London and New York, 1895-; Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch ü. d. Talmudim u. Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1876-89; *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch u. d. Targumim*, Leipzig, 1867-68; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863-93; G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Halis, 1830-37; Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, Lipsiae, 1865; Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1896.

4. אָגַם* (*a.* אָגַם¹ 'sad,' Is. xix. 10).
5. אָדַם (*a.* אָדַם; אָדַם 'aduma, 'adima) 'be red.'
6. אָהַב (אָהַב, יָאֲהַב, *inf.* and *abst.* אָהֲבָה) 'love.'
7. אָוַר (אָוַר, יָאֲוַר, *impr.* אָוְרִי, *a.* אָוַר) 'become bright.'
8. אָחָה* (אָחָה² 'brotherhood,' Zech. xi. 14).
9. אָטַר (אָטַר³ Ps. lxix. 16) 'shut.'[†]
10. אָיַם* (*a.* אָיַם 'terrible').
11. אָכַל (יָאֲכַל) 'eat.'
12. אָלַף (תָּאֲלַף Pr. xxii. 25; J. L. T. אָלִיף: אָלִיף 'alifa 'be accustomed to') 'learn.'[†]
13. אָמַן (*a.* as *adv.* אָמֵן 'so be it,' אָמְנָה, אָמְנָה; אָמֵן 'amina 'be safe, secure;' אָמְנָה: 'amna) *pt.* 'tutor.'
14. אָמַץ (אָמַץ, יָאֲמַץ, *a.* אָמַץ* אָמְצִים^[2]) 'be powerful, courageous.'
15. אָמַר (יָאֲמַר) 'say.'
16. אָנַח* (אָנַח 'sighing;' Ass. *ānāḥ*).
17. אָנַף (יָאֲנַף; אָנַף 'anifa) 'be angry.'
18. אָנַק (אָנַק) 'groan.'
19. אָסַף (אָסַף Is. xxiv. 22), 'collect.'
20. אָפַל* (*a.* אָפַל 'dark,' אָפַל; אָפַל 'afila).
21. אָפַס (אָפַס) 'stop, be no more.'
22. אָרַךְ (אָרַךְ Ezek. xxxi. 5, *a.* אָרַךְ* אָרַךְ, *a.* אָרַךְ* אָרַךְ; אָרַךְ J. L. T. אָרִיךְ) 'become long.'
23. אָשַׁם, אָשַׁם (*inf.* and *abst.* אָשַׁם, יָאֲשַׁם, אָשַׁם; אָשַׁם; אָשַׁם 'athima) 'be guilty.'

¹ אָגַם might also be derived from a form אָגַם, just as אָחַם from אָחַם 'wise.'

² Denominative from אָח 'brother.'

³ Perhaps to be read אָטַם, cf. Graetz, *Commentar*, Breslau, 1883, p. 423.

⁴ Cf. p. 56.

24. אַתָּה (יֵאתָיו; ܐܬܐ; *ġē'tay*) 'come.'
25. בַּאֲשׁ (בִּבְאֵשׁ; ܒܝܫܐ; *ba'isa*; ܒܝܫܐ; *bē'sa*) 'rot, stink.'
26. בֹּגֵר (בִּבְגֵר; Mal. ii. 10, *a.* בֹּגֵר * Jer. iii. 7, 10) 'be-faithless, rebellious.'
27. בָּדַד (בָּדַד 'separation'; ܒܕܕܬܐ *badidta* 'have parts far apart') *pt.* 'alone, separate.'
28. בְּהֵמָה * (בְּהֵמָה 'cattle'; ܒܗܡܐ; *bēhma* 'be dumb').
29. בּוֹא (בּוֹא, *impr.* and *inf.* ܒܘܐ; ܝܒܕܐ; *ibā*; Ass. *ibā'u*) 'enter, come.'
30. בּוֹשׁ (בּוֹשׁ, *a.* בּוֹשׁ, *impr.* and *inf.* ܒܝܫܐ; ܝܒܕܐ; *ibāš*) 'be ashamed.'
31. בָּחוֹן (בָּחוֹן; ܒܚܢ *s.*, *a.* ܒܚܢ Jer. vi. 27) 'test, try.'
32. בְּטָחָה (בְּטָח; ܒܬܚܐ Is. xxx. 15) 'trust.'
33. בָּלָה (בָּלָה, *impr.*, *a.* ܒܠܐ; ܒܠܝܐ *baliya*; ܒܠܝܐ; *baliya*) 'become worn out.'
34. בָּלַע (בָּלַע; ܒܠܥ *bali'a*) 'swallow.'
35. בָּעַל (בָּעַל; ܒܥܠ *ba'ala*; ܒܥܠܐ; *bē'la*) 'rule over, possess.'
36. בָּעַר (בָּעַר; ܒܥܝܪ J. 'burn' *intr.*
37. בָּעַת * (בָּעַת 'terror'; ܒܥܬܐ; *bē'ta*) 'come upon suddenly, fear').
38. בָּצַק (בָּצַק, *a.* ܒܥܩ *bā'iq* 'dough,' originally 'swelling up') 'swell up.'
39. בָּרַד * (a. ܒܪܕ *bā'rad* 'piebald').
40. בָּרַח (בָּרַח; ܒܪܝܚ *bā'riha* 'depart, leave') 'flee.'
41. בָּרַךְ (בָּרַךְ; ܒܪܟܐ Ch. vi. 13; ܒܪܟܐ; *bā'riḥ*) 'kneel.'
42. בָּרַךְ (בָּרַךְ 'blessing,' ܒܪܟܐ 'pool,' perhaps originally 'something blessed') *inf. absolute*.

¹ The retention of the *Qameṣ* in the feminine is strange if the form is *qatul* or *qatāl*. Barth (*Nominalbildung*, §27g) derives it from *qatāl*. It may be the Aramaic form קטול (so Haupt).

43. כָּרַר (*inf.* לְכָרַם * כָּר, Eccl. iii. 18, *a.* כָּר 'pure; בִּרְרָת *barirta* 'be good, true') 'separate, cleanse.'
44. כָּשַׁל (*a.* כָּשַׁל; בִּישַׁל) 'become cooked, ripe.'
45. גָּאָה (*imprf.* גָּאָה; גָּאָה) 'rise, be exalted.'
46. גָּבַהּ (*inf.* גָּבַהּ, *a.* גָּבַהּ) 'be high, exalted, proud.'
47. גָּבַר (*a.* גָּבַר; גָּבַר: *gabra* 'do, make') 'increase, become great.'
48. גָּדַל (*a.* גָּדַל, *a.* גָּדַל; גָּדַל *jadila* 'contend violently') 'become great.'
49. גָּהַר (*a.* גָּהַר; גָּהַר) 'bend down.'
50. גָּוַר (*a.* גָּוַר) 'sojourn.'
51. גָּזַל (*a.* גָּזַל 'plunder,' originally 'what is torn off,' גָּזַל; גָּזַל *jazila* 'be cut on the back [of camel]) tear off, tear away.'
52. גָּזַר (*a.* גָּזַר; גָּזַר Job xxii. 28, גָּזַר 'desolation') 'separate, determine.'
53. גָּחַ and גָּחַ (*impr.* גָּחַ Mic. iv. 10) 'break forth.'
54. גָּלַל (*impr.* גָּלַל Ps. cxix. 22) 'roll.'
55. גָּנַב (*a.* גָּנַב 'what is stolen,' Ex. xxii. 2) 'steal.'
56. גָּעַר (*a.* גָּעַר; גָּעַר) 'scold, reprove.'
57. גָּרַר (*a.* גָּרַר Lev. xi. 7) 'draw.'
- ** Cf. No. 433.
58. גָּאָה (*a.* גָּאָה; גָּאָה L. גָּאָה) 'fear.'
59. גָּבַל (*a.* גָּבַל; גָּבַל 'cake of figs,' originally 'something pressed together,' גָּבַל *dabila* 'be full of fat').
60. גָּבַק (*a.* גָּבַק; גָּבַק *dabika* 'stick to.')
61. גָּדַל (*a.* גָּדַל 'sick; גָּדַל; גָּדַל *dauila*; גָּדַל *ēduai*) *inf.* Lev. xii. 2, 'be unwell, menstruate.'
62. גָּדַל (*a.* גָּדַל Gen. vi. 3) 'stay' [?].†

† Cf. Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 67.

‡ Cf. Stade, *Lehrb.* § 490, c; Olshausen, *Lehrb.* p. 524 *bot.*

63. דוּשׁ (*impr.* דוּשִׁי Mic. iv. 13) 'tread down.'
64. רָכַךְ * (*a.* רָךְ 'crushed').
65. דָּלַל (דָּלָה Job xxviii. 4) 'dangle.'[†]
66. דָּלַל (דָּלַל, יָדַל, *a.* דָּל) 'be weak, poor.'
67. דָּלַק (דָּלָק Ps. x. 2; נָדָּלַק נֶחֱם, J. דָּלִיק) 'burn *intr.*, pursue eagerly.'
68. דָּמָה (דָּמָה Job xxx. 27, דָּמָה) 'be silent, still.'
69. דָּמַע (דָּמָעָה Jer. xiii. 17, דָּמָעָה; دَمِعَ *dami'a*) 'weep, be full of tears.'[†]
70. דָּעַךְ (דָּעַךְ; יָדָּעַךְ) 'go out, be extinguished.'
71. דָּקַק (דָּק, *a.* דָּק) 'be crushed, fine.'
72. דָּשַׁן (דָּשָׁן Deut. xxxi. 20, *a.* דָּשָׁן; دَسِمَ *dasima*)¹ 'become fat.'[†]
73. הָבַל (יִהְיֶה הָבַל; T. הֵבַל) 'amount to nothing, give oneself up to empty hopes.'
74. הָדָר (הִדְרָה * הִדְרָה, הָדָר, תִּהְיֶה הָדָר) 'honor, take the part of.'
75. הָלַךְ (forms regularly tr. except *imperf. i. p.* יֵלֵךְ; 2 *pl.* תִּהְלֹךְ, תִּלְכְּנָה Ex. ix. 23, Ps. lxxiii. 9; J. T. הָלִיךְ; هَلَاكَ *halika* 'perish') 'go, walk, depart, vanish.'
76. הָפַךְ (הִפְכָה 'destruction,' Gen. xix. 29; J. T. הִפְךָ) 'turn, overturn, destroy; turn (*intr.*), flee.'
77. הָרַג (הִרְגָה 'slaughter') 'kill.'
78. הָרָה (*imperf.*, *a.* הָרָה * הָרָה) 'be pregnant.'
79. זָוַר (*a.* זָוַר) 'be haughty.'
80. זָוַע (זָוַעָה זָוַעָה *kt.*, transposed זָוַעָה) 'tremble, be afraid.'
81. זָוַר (זָוַר Jud. vi. 38) 'press out.'
82. זָוַר (זָוַר Ps. lviii. 4) 'be strange, apart, rebellious.'
83. זָכָה (*imperf.*; זָכָה יָכֵה) 'be pure.'

¹ Cf. Haupt in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 1, 2.

84. זָכַר (זָכַר, *a.* יָדָה) 'be pure, innocent.'
85. זָעַף (זָעַף) Pr. xix. 3, *a.* זָעַף 'be angry.'†
86. זָעַק (זָעַק, זָעַק, זָעַק; Bib. Ar. זָעַק) 'cry out.'
87. זָקַן (זָקַן, זָקַן, *inf.* and *abst.* זָקַן, *a.* זָקַן)¹ 'become old.'
88. זָרַר (זָרַר) Is. i. 6) 'be pressed out.'† [Cf. 81.]
89. חָבַר (*a.* חָבַר, חָבַר; خَبَرَ *habura* 'know'; حَبَرَ : *habra*)
'be joined together, allied.'
90. חָבַשׁ (חָבַשׁ) Job v. 18) 'bind.'
91. חָגַר (*a.* חָגַר, חָגַר) 'girded,' Ezek. xxiii. 15) 'gird, bind up.'
92. חָרַד (חָרַד) Hab. i. 8, *a.* חָרַד 'sharp') 'be sharp, quick.'†
93. חָרַג (חָרַג, חָרַג) 'rejoice.'
94. חָרַל (*a.* חָרַל, חָרַל) 'cease.'
95. חָסַם (חָסַם) 'pity, spare.'
96. חָוַר (חָוַר) Is. xxix. 22; حَوَّرَ *hawira*) 'become pale.'†
97. חָזַק (חָזַק, חָזַק, *inf.* and *abst.* חָזַק, *a.* חָזַק) 'be unmoved, attached to, strong.'
98. חָטָא (חָטָא, חָטָא; خطى *ḥaṭi'a*) 'sin.'
99. חָיָה (*pf. impf.*, *a.* חָיָה, חָיָה Ex. i. 19; حَيَّى *ḥaii'a*;
ḥayya : *ḥaiya*) 'live.'
100. חָיָה (*a.* חָיָה; حَيَّى *ḥaii'u*) 'live.'
101. חָכַם (חָכַם, חָכַם; نَحِمْسَ : *ḥaḥim*) 'be wise.'
102. חָלַק (חָלַק, חָלַק; خَلَقَ *ḥaliqu, ḥaluqa*) 'be smooth.'
103. חָלַשׁ (חָלַשׁ, חָלַשׁ) Job xiv. 10; T. חָלַשׁ) 'be weak.'†
104. חָמַד (חָמַד, חָמַד; J. חָמַד, حَمِدَ *ḥamida* 'praise') 'desire.'
105. חָמַל (חָמַל, חָמַל; *inf.* or *abst.* חָמַל and חָמַל) 'pity, spare.'

¹ All the forms are probably denominative from זָקַן 'beard.'

² Regarded as *Pual* of זָרַר by Stade, *Lehrb.* § 415, b.

³ Meaning uncertain, usually translated 'lively, in good health.'

106. חָמַם (חָם, יָחַם, יָחַם, *inf.* לְחָמַם¹ Is. xlvii. 14, *a.* חָם; *hamimta*; חָמָה *hamma*) 'become warm.'
107. חָמַס (חָמַס; חָמַס *hamisa* 'be hard, severe') 'act violently to, harm.'
108. חָמָצְתָּ, חָמָצָה* *inf.* יָחָמַץ, חָמָץ (חָמָץ) חָמָץ Hos. vii. 4, *a.* יָחָמַץ, חָמָץ *hamida, hamuda*; cf. חָמָץ *hami*, L. חָמָץ (חָמָץ) 'be sour.'
109. חָמָץ (*a.* חָמָץ 'oppressor,' Is. i. 17) *pt.* 'oppressor,' Ps. lxxi. 4.
110. חֲנֻנִים* חֲנֵן Am. v. 15, *inf.* חֲנֵן Is. xxx. 18) 'be gracious to.'
111. חָנַף (חָנַף, חָנַף, *a.* חָנַף; חָנַף *hanifa, hanifa* 'have a contortion') 'be godless, polluted.'
112. חָסַן* (חָסַן 'strong,' חָסַן *hasuna*).³
113. חָסַר (חָסַר, חָסַר, *a.* חָסַר; חָסַר *hasira*; חָסַר *hasra*) 'fail, be in want, decrease.'
114. חָפָה* (*a.* חָפָה 'pure,' Job xxxiii. 9).
115. חָפֵץ (חָפֵץ, חָפֵץ, *a.* חָפֵץ; חָפֵץ *hafiza* 'keep') 'be pleased with, desire.'
116. חָפַר (חָפַר, חָפַר, *inf.* חָפַר *hafira*; חָפַר *hafra*) 'be ashamed.'
117. חָפְשָׁה* (חָפְשָׁה 'freedom,' Lev. xix. 20).
118. חָצַב (חָצַב Is. v. 2) 'hew, split.'
119. חָרַב (חָרַב, *impr.* חָרַב Is. xlv. 27, *a.* חָרַב; חָרַב *hariba*) 'be dry, desolate.'

¹ Perhaps corrupt and to be read לְחָמַם *inf.* with suffix, or *Piel* לְחָמַם; cf. Gesenius-Buhl., p. 260 b.

² The regular representative of חָמָץ in Syriac is חָמָץ 'be fermented,' the *a* imperfect of which is indecisive.

³ Cf. Haupt in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1, 19; Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 34.

120. חרר (יִחְרַר), *a.* חָרַר, יִחְרָרָה, חָרַס *harida* 'be bashful'
'tremble.'
121. חרף (תִּחְרַף Is. xviii. 6) 'pass the winter.'[†]
122. חרף (יִחְרַף Job xxvii. 6, חָרַפָּה; T. יִחְרַף) 'scorn.'[†]
123. חרץ (יִחְרֹץ Ex. xi. 7) 'sharpen.'
124. חרץ (תִּחְרֹץ 2 Sam. v. 24; חָרַס *hariṣa*) 'be eager, hasten.'[†]
125. חרר (יִחְרַר, *a.* חָרַר * חָרִירִים 'dry regions,' Jer. xvii. 6; חָרַטָּה *harirta*) 'burn, glow.'
126. חרש (יִחְרֹשׁ; חָרַשׁ חָרַס *harisa*)¹ 'be dumb, silent.'
127. חִשַּׁךְ (יִחְשַׁךְ; חִשְׁכָּה, חִשְׁכִּים * חִשַּׁךְ, *a.* תִּחְשַׁךְ; חָסַךְ *hasika* 'be angry') 'become darkened.'
128. חתת (חָתַת, *a.* חָתַת) 'be terrified.'
129. טבח (טָבַחַה 'slaughtering') 'slaughter.'
130. טבע (יִטְבַּע; طَبَعَ *tabi'a* 'be rusty'; טָבַע : 'be inborn')
'be sunken, sink.'
131. טהר (יִטְהַר, טָהַר, *a.* טָהַר, טָהָרָה, טָהַר *tahira*,
tahura) 'be clean, pure.'
132. טוב (יִטּוֹב, *a.* טוֹב) 'be good.'
133. טחן (יִטְחֹן; טָחַן) 'grind.'

¹ The adjective חָרַשׁ 'dumb' is perhaps modified from חָרַשׁ * after the analogy of other adjectives denoting defects, e. g. אָטַר 'lame,' אֵלִים 'dumb,' גִּבֵּחַ 'bald,' גִּבְנִי 'humped,' עִוֵּר 'blind,' עֲלִיל 'stammering,' עֲקִישׁ 'crooked,' פֶּסַח 'lame,' פֶּקַח 'open-eyed,' קָרַח 'bald.' קָרַח is probably to be regarded in the same way, cf. the proper name קָרַח.

² Considered an *u* perfect by Lagarde (*Übersicht*, p. 26); it is probable, however, that the verbal forms are simply denominative for the adjective, which represents a more original form *ṭāb*, cf. Syr. טָבָא *ṭāb*, Ass. *ṭābu*.

134. טְמֵאָה, טְמֵא, a. טְמֵאָה, inf. טְמֵא, טְמֵאָה, טְמֵאָה; *ṭamʿa* 'be unclean, impure.'
135. טַעַם (טַעַם; טַעַם; טַעַם; *ṭaʿma*; *ṭaʿma*) 'taste' *tr.*
136. טָרַף (טָרַף; *Gen. xlix. 27*, טָרַף; *ṭarifa, ṭarufa*) 'tear, rend.'
137. יָבֵשׁ (יָבֵשׁ; יָבֵשׁ; a. יָבֵשׁ; *yabisa*; *yabisa*) 'be dry.'
138. יָגַע (יָגַע; a. יָגַע; *yajiʿa*) 'be tired.'
139. יָגַר (יָגַר; a. יָגַר; *yajira*) 'fear.'
140. יָדַר (יָדַר) 'throw [lot].'
141. יָחַד (יָחַד; *yahida, yahuda*; cf. *yehda*) 'be joined to.'
142. יָחַם (יָחַם; *Gen. xxx. 38*, *yahima*) 'be lustful, in heat.'
143. יָחַף* (a. יָחַף 'barefoot').
144. יָטַב (יָטַב; cf. *yatav*) 'be good.'
145. יָכַל (יָכַל; *Bib. Ar. yikal*; cf. *kehla*) 'be able.'
146. יָלַד (יָלַד; *ilad* [subj.]) 'bear.'
147. יָלַל* (יָלַל) 'cry of woe'.
148. יָנַק (יָנַק; *yanaq*) 'suck.'
149. יָעַף (יָעַף; a. יָעַף) 'be fatigued.'
150. יָפָה (y^f, a. יָפָה) 'be beautiful.'
151. יָפַח* (a. יָפַח 'breathing forth,' Ps. xxvii. 12).
152. יָפַע (יָפַע; *yafa*) 'beauty,' Ezek. xxviii. 7, 17).

¹ To be pronounced *ivēš*; such forms might also be transliterated *ayibš*, just as they are sometimes written in Syriac *ܐܝܒܫ*.

² For *yahima*, cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 47, k.

³ Cf. my paper on *The Internal Passive in Semitic*, JAOS. vol. 22, p. 49, ft. nt. 2.

153. **צק** (**וַיִּצֶק**)¹ 1 Kgs. xxii. 35, *impr.* **צק** 2 Kgs. iv. 41) 'be poured out, flow.'[†]
154. **צר** (**וַיִּצֶר**)¹ 'form.'
155. **צת** (*impr.* **יִצַּח**) 'burn' *intr.*
156. **קר** (**יָקַר**; **תִּיקַר**; **יָקַר**) 'burn' *intr.*
157. **קה** (**יָקַח**)² 'obedience,' **קה** *yaqiha* 'be obedient').
158. **קע** (**תִּקַּע**; **קע** *yaqi'a*) 'be dislocated.'
159. **קץ** (**יָקַץ**; **יָקַץ**) *yaqiza, yaquza* 'awake.'
160. **קר** (**יָקַר**; **יָקַר**; **קַר** *yaqira, yaqura*) 'be heavy, important, precious.'
161. **קש** (**יָקַשׁ**) Jer. l. 24, *a.* **קש** Hos. ix. 8) 'lay snares.'
162. **רא** (**יָרָא**; **יָרָא**; **יָרָא**, *impr.* and *abst.* **יָרָא**, *a.* **יָרָא**) 'fear.'
163. **רב** (**יָרַב**)³ 'contentious,' Hos. v. 13, x. 6).
164. **רר** (**יָרַד**; **יָרַד**) 'descend, go down.'
165. **רק** (**יָרַק**; **יָרַק**; **יָרַק** *yarika*) (*a.* **יָרַק** 'green,' **יָרַק** *yarika*).
166. **רש** (**יָרַשׁ** *s.* **יָרַשׁ**, *impr.* **יָרַשׁ** and **יָרַשׁ**; **יָרַשׁ** *yaritha*; **יָרַשׁ** *iras* [subj.]) 'inherit.'
167. **רשן** (**יָרַשׁן**; **יָרַשׁן** *yasina*) 'sleep.'
168. **רש** (**יָרַשׁ**; **יָרַשׁ** or **יָרַשׁ**) 'be straight.'
169. **רש** (**יָרַשׁ**; **יָרַשׁ** *a.* **יָרַשׁ** 'old,' 2 Ch. xxxvi. 17).
170. **רב** (**יָרַב**; **יָרַב**; **יָרַב** *ka'iba*) 'feel pain.'
171. **רב** (**יָרַב**; **יָרַב**; **יָרַב** *kabda*) 'be heavy.'

¹ The unaccented *a* of the final syllable is modified to Seghol as in **וַיִּצֶק** < *yaiziqmar*, cf. **וַיִּצֶק** i. p. Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 68, c. d. e.

² Daghesh-forte dirimens, cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 20, h.

³ If the text is correct, a secondary form based on the imperfect **יָרַב** from **רִיב** 'contend.'

172. כהה (*impf.*; كهي *kahiia*) 'be weak [of eyes], despair.'
173. כון* (*a.* כן 'right, proper').
174. כזב (כזב) *pt.* 'lying,' Ps. cxvi. 11.
175. כלה (*impf.*; *a.* כלות* כלת 'languishing,' Deut. xxviii. 32) 'be complete, ended, languish.'
176. כסל (יכסלו) Jer. x. 8, כסלה; كسل; *kasila* 'be sluggish' 'be foolish.'†
177. כעס (יכעס; J. כעים) 'be displeased, angry.'
178. כפן (כפן 'hunger;' כפן כפ 'stretch out hungrily,' Ezek. xvii. 7.†
179. כרה (*pf. impf.*; كره: *ḡkrai*) 'dig.'
180. כשר (כשר Esth. viii. 5, יכשר Eccl. xi. 6) 'succeed, be suitable.'†
181. לאה (*impf.*; לאי לא 'become fatigued, lose courage.'
182. לבש (לבש; ילבש, לבש; لبس; *labisa*; ḡḡḡḡ: *labsa*) 'put on.'
183. להק (להק* להקת 'frenzy,' 1 Sam. xix. 20; لهق *lahiq* 'be white, glowing').
184. לין (תין Jud. xix. 20, Job xvii. 2, *a.* לין* לין Neh. xiii. 21) 'spend the night.'
185. ליץ (*a.* ליץ) 'scorn, scoff.'
186. למד (למד; למיד; למד: *ḡlmad*) 'learn.'
187. לעג (לעג, לעגי* לעג; لعج 'stutter') 'mock.'
188. לעע (לעע Job. vi. 3; ילע Pr. xx. 25)² 'speak in a confused manner, speak without thinking.'†
189. לעע (ולעע³ Ob. 16) 'suck up.'†

¹ Cf. Hoffman, ZAW. 3, 89. The reading is doubtful; according to LXX, Syr. and Targ. we should read קהלה 'assembly.'

² ילע is perhaps to be read ילע, and the forms referred to לעה, Ar. لع.

³ Perhaps from לוע, cf. Syr. ܠܘܥ as well as ܠܘܥ.

205. מִשָּׁח (מִשָּׁחָה, מִשָּׁחָה s., inf. מִשָּׁח) 'anoint.'
206. מִתּוֹק (מִתּוֹקָה) Pr. ix. 17, a. מִתּוֹק 'be sweet.'
207. נֶאֱצָה (נֶאֱצָה, נֶאֱצָה) 'despise.'
208. נֶאֱקָה (נֶאֱקָה * נֶאֱקָה Job xxiv. 12, נֶאֱקָה) 'groan.'
209. נָבַל (נָבַל, נָבַל; J. L. נָבַל 'be soiled') 'wither.'
210. נָבַל (נָבַל) 'be foolish, act foolishly,' Pr. xxx. 32.†
211. נָגַה (נָגַה Job xviii. 5, a. נָגַה * נָגַה 'dawn,' originally 'shining,' Is. lix. 9) 'shine.'
212. נָגַשׁ (נָגַשׁ, impr. נָגַשׁ) 'approach.'
213. נָדַב (נָדַב 'willingness,' נָדַב nadaba 'be noble, active') 'impel to give willingly.'
214. נָדַד (נָדַד Gen. xxxi. 40; נָדַד נָדַד 'hate;' נָדַד: nadda 'burn') 'flee.'
215. נָדַד (נָדַד) 'vow.'
216. נָהַם (נָהַם * נָהַם Job vi. 5, xxx. 7; נָהַם nahima) 'roar.'
217. נָהַק (נָהַק Job vi. 5, xxx. 7; נָהַק nahika) 'bray, cry out.'
218. נָהַר (נָהַר Job iii. 4) 'shine.'
219. נָדַד (נָדַד Is. xvii. 11) 'wander.'
220. נָוָה (נָוָה * נָוָה a. נָוָה 'beautiful').
221. נָוַח (נָוַח, inf. נָוַח) 'come to rest, rest.'
222. נָוַע (נָוַע Is. vii. 2, inf. נָוַע) 'totter, tremble, move hither and thither, wander.'
223. נָוַר (נָוַר a. נָוַר 'lamp,' originally 'shining').
224. נָזַל (נָזַל) 'flow.'
225. נָחַל (נָחַל, נָחַל) 'possess, inherit.'

¹ Cf. König *Lehrgeb.*, 2, 1, 83. The reading is perhaps corrupt, LXX and Targ. require עָר.

² Contracted from נָוָה 'beautiful,' probably *Niphal* participle of נָוַח.

226. נחר (נַחַר* or נַחֲרָה* Jer. viii. 16; نَحَرَ *nahira*; נָחַר: *nəḥra*) 'snort, blow,' Jer. vi. 29.†
227. נחת (נָחַת, וַתִּנָּחַת, a. נַחַת* 2 Kgs. vi. 9; نَسَدَ *naḥat*) 'descend.'
228. נטף (נָטַף; נָטַף נָטַף; cf. *ṭṭa* *naṭba*) 'drip.'
229. נכא* (a. נִכָּא* נִכָּא 'stricken').
230. נכה* (a. נִכָּה* c. נָכָה 'smitten').
231. נכח* (a. נִכָּח* נִכָּח 'lying straight ahead').
232. נעם (נָעַם, נִעַם; נִעַם *na'ima*) 'be agreeable.'
233. נקב (נִקְּבָה 'female, perforata,' نَقِبَ *naqiba* 'be lacerated, worn') 'bore, pierce.'
234. נקר* (a. נָקַר 'speckled').
235. נקם (נָקַם, נִקְּמָה; نَقِمَ *naqima*) 'take vengeance.'
236. נשה (נָשָׂה *našā*; pf. Lam. iii. 17; نَسِيَ *našā*) 'forget.'†
237. נשך (נָשַׁךְ; נָבַת נִשַּׁךְ 'bite.'
238. נשל (נָשַׁל, *impr.* נִשַּׁל) 'take off, fall off or out.'
239. נשם (נִשָּׁמָה) 'breathe violently,' Is. xlii. 14.†
240. נשק (נָשַׁק; נִשַּׁק נִשַּׁק, J. T. נִשִּׁיק 'kiss.'
241. נתך (נָתַךְ) 'overflow, be poured out.'
242. נתן (*impr.* נָתַן Jud. xvi. 5) 'give.'
243. נתר (נָתַר Job xxxvii. 1) 'leap up [of heart].'
244. נטר (נָטַר) 'turn aside.'
245. נלק (נָלַק; אָסַק Ps. cxxxix. 8; سَلَكَ *saliḥ*) 'ascend.'†
246. נרח (נָרַח Ex. xxvi. 12; سَرَحَ *sariḥa*) 'overhang, spread out freely.'
247. סרר (a. סָר) 'be refractory, rebellious.'

¹ So König 2. 1, 81 f, 462, the doubling of the third consonant taking the place of the lengthening of the characteristic vowel as in

עגל, עגלים, קטן, קטנים, 'round,' 'small.'

² An Aramaism, cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 19, f and § 66, e.

248. עֲבָדָה (עֲבָדָה) ¹ 'work, service;' عِبْد 'abuda 'be a slave')
'work, serve.'
249. עֲבָה (pf.; عَبِيَ حَم; 0-04: 'abīa) 'be thick, fat.'
250. עֲבַר (עֲבָרָה; عَبِيَ; 'abira) 'overflow; cross, pass over.'
251. עֲבַת* (עֲבַת 'thickly woven').
252. עֲנָבָה; עֲנָבָה; عَجَب 'ajiba) 'desire, lust for.' Ez. xxiii. 5. וְתִעְנֵב עֲנָבָה
253. עֲגַל* (a. عَجَلَ 'round; عَجِل 'ajila 'hasten').
254. עֲרֵן* (עֲרֵנָה 'voluptuous pleasure,' Gen. xviii. 12).
255. עֹר (a. عَر 'witness') kt. 'cite as an example,' Lam. ii. 13.†
256. עֹז (inf. עֹז Is. xxx. 2.) 'seek refuge.'†
257. עֲוֹל* (עֲוֹלָה 'unrighteousness').
258. עֹר (a. عَار; عَارِيز 'ajāru 'be jealous') 'awake.'
259. עֹז (a. عَزِيز; عَزِيز 'azizta) 'be strong.'
260. עֹז (עֹזָה) 'help.'
261. עִיט (ויַעֲט 1 Sam. xxv. 14) 'rush upon.'
262. עִיף (ויַעֲפֵ, a. عَافٍ) ² 'be exhausted.'
263. עֲלָה (pf., impf., a. عَالَا 'leaves,' originally 'growing up; عَالَى 'alīa 'be or become high, ascend') 'ascend, go up.'
264. עֲלֹז (a. عَزِلَ Is. v. 14) 'rejoice.'
265. עֲלָט* (עֲלָטָה 'thick darkness; عَالَط jalaza 'be thick, dense').

¹ עֲבָדָה probably bears the same relation to adjectives of the form *qatul* as abstract nouns like מְלָאָה do to adjectives of the form *qatil*, cf. p. 8. The only other abstract of this form is סְחָרָה* Ez. xxvii. 15, which is probably corrupt: cf. Prof. Toy's critical notes on the Hebrew text of Ezekiel, in *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament* ed. Prof. Haupt, p. 83, l. 22.

² The verbal forms are doubtful; the perfect עִיפָה may be read as the adjective עִיפָה, the imperfect וַיַּעֲפֵ, וַיַּעֲפֵ from יַעֲפֵ.

266. עִמַּל (*a.* עִמַּל, עִמַּל; נִעְמַל נִעַם; *amila*) ‘fatigue, exert oneself, labor.’
267. עִמַּק (*a.* עִמַּק, עִמַּק; עִמַּק עִמַּק; *amaka; عمق*: *immaq*) ‘be deep,’ Ps. xcii. 6.†
268. עִנָּה (*a.* עִנָּה ‘effeminate;’ غنچ *ganija* ‘be coy, coquettish’).
269. עָנָה (*pf., impf.,* עָנָה; *aniia*) ‘be pressed down, suffer.’
270. עִנָּף (*a.* עִנָּף, עִנָּף; *anifa* ‘full of branches,’ Ezek. xix. 10).
271. עִצָּל (*a.* עִצָּל, עִצָּל; عِطْل عِطْل; *azila*) ‘stick together’).
272. עִצָּמָה (*a.* עִצָּמָה; *azuma*) ‘be strong, mighty.’
273. עָקַב (*a.* עָקַב, עָקַב; *aqab*) ‘deceive.’
274. עָקָר (*a.* עָקָר, עָקָר; *aqar*) ‘banded, striped’) ‘bind,’ Gen. xxii. 9.†
275. עָרַב (*a.* עָרַב, עָרַב; *arab*) ‘be sweet.’
276. עָרָה (*a.* עָרָה, עָרָה; *arah*) ‘bare places,’ originally ‘bare, naked,’ Is. xix. 7; עָרִיָּה, עָרִיָּה; *ariia*).
277. עָרַל (*a.* עָרַל, עָרַל; *garila*) ‘circumcise,’ Lev. xix. 23.†
278. עָרָם (*a.* עָרָם, עָרָם; *aram*) ‘naked’).
279. עָרָמָה (*a.* עָרָמָה, עָרָמָה; *aruma*) ‘heap’).
280. עָרַם (*a.* עָרַם, עָרַם; *arum*) ‘be sly, crafty.’
281. עָשָׁן (*a.* עָשָׁן, עָשָׁן; *ashan*) ‘smoke.’

¹ Cf. construct plural יָרֵא of יָרָא 'fearing.'

² Denominative from ענף 'branch.'

³ Denominative from ערלה 'foreskin.'

⁴ Secondary stem made on the basis of עירם 'naked' from עור.

282. עֶשֶׂק (*a.* עֶשׂוֹק Jer. xxii. 3, עֶשְׂקָה Is. xxxviii. 14) 'oppress.'
283. עֶשֶׂר (יְעֶשֶׂר) Job xv, 29; cf. عَثِل 'athila 'be much') 'be rich.'
284. עֶשֶׂשׁ (עֶשְׂשׁוֹ) Ps. xxxi. 11) 'be grieved, waste away.'
285. עֶשֶׂת (*a.* עֶשׂוֹת Ezek. xxvii. 19) 'be smooth,' Jer. v. 28.†
286. עָתָק (עָתָק, *a.* עָתָק, عَتَق 'atuqa) 'advance, become old.'
287. עָתָר (יְעָתָר) 'pray.'
288. פָּגַשׁ (פָּגַשׁ or "פָּגַ Gen. xxxii. 18) 'meet.'
289. פָּדָה (*pf.*, *impf.*; فَدَا: fēdaḏ [impr.]) 'redeem.'
290. פָּוֶשׁ (פָּוֶשְׁתֶּם) Mal. iii. 20) 'spring, skip.'
291. פָּחַד (יִפְחַד, פָּחַדָּה* Jer. ii. 19) 'tremble, fear.'
292. פָּטַר (וַיִּפְטֹר 1 Sam. xix. 10) 'get away, escape.'†
293. פָּלַט (נִפְלֹט, פָּלָטָה, פָּלִיטִים* and פָּלָטִים *a.* פָּלָט) 'escape,' Ezek. vii. 16.†
294. פָּנָה (*pf.*, *impf.*; فَنَى faniḏa 'vanish') 'turn, depart.'
295. פָּסָה (פָּסוּ Ps. xii. 2) 'cease, vanish.'†
296. פָּצַר (וַיִּפְצֹר) 'urge.'
297. פָּרָה (*pf.*, *impf.*; فَرَا: fariḏa) 'be fruitful, bloom.'
298. פָּשַׁט (וַיִּפְשֹׁט 1 Sam. xix. 24; J. פָּשִׁיף) 'take off (clothes), plunder.'
299. פָּתָה (*impf.*; פָּתִי פָּתָה) 'be open, simple, inexperienced.'
300. צָבָה (צָבָה* *a.* צָבָה Num. v. 21) 'swell up,' Num. v. 27.†

¹ Professor Haupt compares this word with Assyrian *ašāšu* 'be grieved,' cf. Delitzsch HW. 151.

² Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* §44, d. König, *Lehrgeb.* 2, 1, 510, and Stade, *Lehrb.* §77, b, regard the *i* as a phonetic modification of *a*.

³ Cf. Barth, *Nominalb.* §112. The *scriptio plena* is perhaps due to the influence of the synonymous פָּלִיט. Olshausen, *Lehrb.* §180, and Lagarde, *Übers.*, 85, regard the form as a diminutive like the Arabic *qutail*.

301. צדק (צִדֵּק; צִדְקָה; J. L. T. צדיק; *gāḏqa*) 'be proper, right, righteous.'
302. צהב* (*a.* צָהָב 'gold-colored,' صَهَب *ṣahiba* 'be blackish-red').
303. צוח (צוּחַ; Is. xlii. 11, צוּחָה) 'cry for joy.'†
304. צור (וּיצַר) 'press together, close up.'
305. צור (תַּצַּר Deut. ii. 9) 'attack, distress.'
306. צור (וּיצַר) 'form.'
307. צח (צוּחַ Lam. iv. 7, *a.* צָח) 'be white, bright, clear.'†
308. צחן* צחנתו* צחנתה* 'stench,' Jo. ii. 20).
309. צחק (יִצְחַק; נִחַךְ; ضحك *ḍahika*)¹ 'laugh.'
310. צחר* (*a.* צָחֳרֹת* צָחַר 'white,' Jud. v. 10).
311. צלח (יִצְלַח, יִצְלַח; ضلح *ṣalḥa*) 'be successful, succeed, come upon.'
312. צלל (תַּצְלֶלְהָ 2 Kgs. xxi. 12, Jer. xix. 3) 'tingle.'
313. צמא (יִצְמָא, יִצְמָא; *a.* צָמָא, צָמָא; ظمئ *ẓami'a*) 'be thirsty.'
314. צנף (יִצְנֶפֶה 'skein,' Is. xxii. 18) 'wind.'
315. צעד (יִצְעַד, יִצְעַד; سعى *ṣa'ida*) 'grow up, advance, stride.'
316. צען (יִצְעֵן Is. xxxiii. 20; טָעַן 'carry, bear, suffer') 'be carried away' [?].†
317. צעק (יִצְעֹק, *impr.* וַיִּצְעֲקוּ Jer. xxii. 20, יִצְעֲקָה; صعى *ṣa'iqā*) 'cry out.'
318. צער (יִצְעֹר Jer. xxx. 19, *a.* יִצְעֹר *kt.* Jer. xiv. 3, xlviii. 4; J. L. T. צעיר; صغر *ṣaḡira, ṣaḡura*) 'be small, mean.'
319. צר (יִצַּר, *inf.* יִצַּר, *a.* יִצַּר) 'be pressed together, narrow.'

¹ Cf. Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 63.

337. קָרַר* (*a.* קָר 'cold;' قَرَرْتُ *qarirta*, 'be cold;' قَلَّ: *quarra*).
338. קָשָׁה (*תְּקִישְׁנָה*) Is. xxxii. 3) 'be sharp [of ears].'[†]
339. קָשָׁה (*impf., a.* קָשָׁה) 'be hard, severe.'
340. רָאָה (*pf., impf., inf.* רָאָה Ezek. xxviii. 17, *a.* רָאָה*
c. רָאָה Job x. 15; رَأَى: *re'ia*) 'see.'
341. רָבַב (*a.* רָב רָבַב) 'be or become much.'
342. רָבַב (*pf.* רָבַב Gen. xlix. 23) 'shoot' [2].[†]
343. רָבַה (*pf., impf.;* رָبَى: *rabiya*) 'increase, become great.'
344. רָבַע (*inf.* רָבַע Lev. xx. 16) 'lie with.'
345. רָבַע (*רָבַע*; J. רָבַע) 'crouch down, lurk.'
346. רָגַז (*impr.* רָגַז, רָגַז; رَغَزَ) 'be excited, aroused.'
347. רָגַע* (*a.* رָגِيَ: *ragiya*, 'peaceful, quiet,' Ps. xxxv. 20).
348. רָגַשׁ (*נִרְגַּשׁ*) Ps. lxiv. 3; رَغَشَ) 'be aroused, in restless motion,' Ps. ii. 1.[†]
349. רָדַד (*inf.* رَدَد Is. xlv. 1) *pt.* 'tread down, subdue.'
350. רָהַב (*impr.* رَهَب Pr. vi. 3; J. L. T. رَهَب; رَهِب *rahiba* 'fear') 'be proud, violent to; urge.'
351. רוּה (*impf., a.* רוּה, רוּה; رَوَى: *rayiya*; رَوَى: *rayia*) 'drink to satiety, be satisfied with drink.'
352. רוּח (*יְרוּח*) Job xxxii. 20, רוּחָה; رَوِحَ *rayiha*) 'become wide, pleasant.'
353. רוּם (*inf.* רוּם* Ezek. x. 17; *Bib. Ar.* رَم) 'be or become high.'
354. רוּה (*a.* רוּה, רוּה; رَذِيَ: *radhiya* 'become lean') 'make vanish' [2], Zeph. ii. 11.[†]
355. רוּן (*a.* רוּן 'prince,' Pr. xiv. 28; رَزَن *razuna* 'be heavy')
pt. 'prince.'

[†] Cf. p. 25, ft. nt. 1.² Perhaps corrupt, cf. Perles, *Analekten*, p. 61.

356. רחם (אַרְחַמְךָ) Ps. xviii. 2; רַחֵם: رَحِمَ *rahima*, رَحِمَ *rahima*; cf. מֶהְרָה: *mēhra* 'love.'[†]
357. רָחַץ (רָחַץ), רָחַץ, *inf.* רָחַץ 'wash.'
358. רָחַק (רָחַק), *inf.* רָחַק, *a.* רָחַק* Ps. lxxiii. 27, *a.* רָחַק: רָחַק *rahqa* 'be or become distant.'
359. רָטַב (יָרְטְבוּ) Job xxiv. 8, *a.* רָטַב Job viii. 16; رَطَبَ رَطَبَ *ratiba, ratuba*; رَطَبَ: *ratba* 'be wet, moist.'[†]
360. רֵק* (א. רֵק 'empty, vain').
361. רָכַב (יָרֶכֶב), רָכַב, רָכַב: رَكَبَ رَكَبَ *rakiba*: رَكَبَ: *īrkab* 'find'; Ass. *irkab* 'ride.'
362. רָךְ (יָרֶךְ), *inf.* רָךְ, *a.* רָךְ: رَاكٍ *īarakku* 'be thin, fine, weak.'
363. רָם (פַּף. רָמוּ Job xxiv. 24) 'rise up, become high.'[†]
364. רָנָה (רָנָה) 'cry out aloud, rejoice.'
365. רָעַב (יָרַעַב), *a.* רָעַב, רָעַב: رَاغِبَ رَاغِبَ *ragiba, raguba*; cf. رَاغِبَ: *rēhba* 'be hungry.'
366. רָעַד (וַתִּרְעַד) Ps. civ. 32, רָעַד: رَعَدَ: *rē'ida* 'tremble.'[†]
367. רָעָה (פַּף., *impf.*; رَعَى: *rē'ia*) 'tend, pasture.'
368. רָעַם (יָרַעַם), רָעַם: رَعِمَ: *rēam* 'roar.'
369. רָעָה (יָרַעָה), *inf.* רָעָה, *a.* רָעָה 'be bad, evil.'
370. רָעַשׁ (יָרַעַשׁ), رَعَسَ *ra'asa*, but رَعَشَ *ra'isha* 'be shaken, tremble.'
371. רָפַד (יָרַפַּד) Job xli. 22) 'be spread out.'[†]
372. רָפָה (יָרַפָה), *impf.*, *a.* רָפָה 'sunk down, be limp.'
373. רָצָה (פַּף., *impf.*; رَضِيَ: *radī'a*) 'be pleased, like.'
374. רָקַב (יָרַקַב), *J.* רָקַב 'rot.'

[†] Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, Part III, p. 1141a.

² The *daghesh* may be *affectuosum*, and the form, therefore, an *u* perfect from רוּם (353). So Stade, *Lehrb.* §§ 413, e; 138, b.

³ Usually translated 'spread out' *tr.* The meaning 'be spread out' suits the context just as well, and agrees better with the intransitive form.

394. שָׂרִית (שְׂאִרִית) 'remainder, remnant;' سَرى *sa'ira* 'remain over,' 1 Sam. xvi. 11.†
395. שְׁבָה (pf., impr., שְׁבִיָּה 'captivity') 'carry into captivity.'
396. שָׁבַת (תְּשַׁבֵּת) Lev. xxvi. 34) 'stop, rest.'
397. שָׁגָג (שְׁגָגָה) 'go astray, err.'
398. שָׁגַל (שְׁגָלָה) Deut. xxviii. 30) 'lie with.'†
399. שָׂרַף (שְׂרָפָה) 'burning,' 2 Kgs. xix. 26) pt. p., 'burnt.'
400. שָׁב (inf. שֶׁב Josh. ii. 16) 'turn.'
401. שָׁוָה (imperf., a. שָׁוֶה* שְׁוֶה² 'plain,' originally 'level,' Gen. xiv. 5; سَوَّى *sawīja*) 'be like, equal.'
402. שָׁעַ (שְׁוֶעָה* c. and s. 'cry for help').
403. שָׁחָ (שָׁח, a. שָׁח³) 'bend down, be bent down, depressed.'
404. שָׁחַט (שְׁחָטָה, [?] Hos. v. 2) 'slaughter.'
405. שָׁחַר (a. שָׁחַר) 'become black,' Job xxx. 30.†
406. שָׁרַח (וְתָרַח Jud. v. 1) 'sing.'
407. שָׁבַח (שְׁבַח, inf. שָׁבַח, שְׁבַח*) 'pouring out,' שָׁבַח מִפִּי אֱלֹהִים : sakba) 'lie, recline.'
408. שָׁחַח (שְׁחָחָה and s., שָׁחַח, a. שָׁחַח*) 'forget.'
409. שָׁכַךְ (inf. שָׁךְ Jer. v. 26) 'sink, go down, bend down.'
410. שָׁכַל (תִּשְׁכַּל, תִּכּוּל, תִּכּוּל; L. T. ثَكِلَ *thakila*) 'become childless.'
411. שָׁכַן (שָׁכַן, a. שָׁכַן) 'dwell, inhabit.'
412. שָׁכַר (שְׁכָרָה, inf. שָׁכַר Hag. i. 6; سَكِرَ *sakira*; سَكِرَ : sakra) 'become drunk.'

¹ Probably a secondary nominal derivative from an adjective שָׂאִר.

² The form שְׁוֶה is hardly correct, being a combination of the absolute and construct forms; the proper reading is probably the construct שְׁוֶה (so Haupt).

³ The imperfect שָׁח is best considered as belonging to the *Niphal*.

413. *שָׁלוֹם* (*שָׁלוֹם*), *a.* *שָׁלוֹם*, *שָׁלוֹם*; *سَلي* *salīa*) 'be tranquil, safe.'
414. *שָׁלוֹם* (*שָׁלוֹם*) Eccl. ii. 19; *שָׁלוֹם*; *سَلط* *salūta*, *salūta* 'be firm, sharp, prevail') 'rule over.'
415. *שָׁלוֹם* (*שָׁלוֹם*) 'plunder' 'plunder.'
416. *שָׁלוֹם* (*שָׁלוֹם*), *a.* *שָׁלוֹם*; *سَلَم* *salima*) 'be complete, unharmed.'
417. *שָׁמוֹם* (*שָׁמוֹם*), *a.* *שָׁמוֹם*, *שָׁמוֹם* 'be amazed, desolate.'
418. *שָׁמֵן* (*שָׁמֵן*) Deut. xxxii. 15, *a.* *שָׁמֵן*, *שָׁמֵן**¹ Gen. xxvii. 28, 39; *שָׁמֵן*; *سَمِن* *samina*) 'be fat.'
419. *שָׁמַעַתוֹ** (*שָׁמַעַתוֹ*), *inf.* *שָׁמַעַתוֹ*, *שָׁמַעַתוֹ*, *שָׁמַעַתוֹ* Is. xxx. 19; T. *שָׁמַעַתוֹ*; *سَمِع* *sami'a*) 'hear.'
420. *שָׁמַעַתוֹ** (*שָׁמַעַתוֹ*) 'whispering,' Ex. xxxii. 25; cf. *شَمِص* *šam-iṣa* 'speak quickly and indistinctly').
421. *שָׁמַר* (*שָׁמַר*) Ps. cxli. 3) 'watch, keep, protect.'
422. *שָׁעַט* (*שָׁעַט**) 'stamping [of horses],' Jer. xlvi. 3).
423. *שָׁפַל* (*שָׁפַל*), *inf.* *שָׁפַל*, *שָׁפַל*; *سَفِل* *saḥila, saḥula*) 'be or become low.'
424. *שָׁפַעַת** (*שָׁפַעַת*) 'abundance'.
425. *שָׁפַר* (*שָׁפַר*) Job xxvi. 13) 'be beautiful, please,' Ps. xvi. 6).†
426. *שָׁקַד* (*a.* *שָׁקַד*) 'almond tree,' originally 'waking;' T. *שָׁקַד* 'be awake, watch.'
427. *שָׁרַק* (*שָׁרַק*; L. T. *שָׁרַק*) 'hiss, whistle.'
428. *שָׁתָה* (*pf., impf.*; *أَشَتَى*; *أَشَتَى* *satīa*) 'drink.'

¹ Cf. *קָטַן*, 'small.'

429. שֵׁתוֹ (שֵׁתוֹ) Ps. xlix. 15, lxxiii. 9) 'set; be placed.'[†]
 430. תִּאֲבָה (תִּאֲבָה) Ps. cxix. 20; L. T. תִּאֲבָה 'desire.'
 431. תָּמַם (תָּמַם, *impf.* תָּמַם and תָּמַם, *a.* תָּמַם) 'be complete, perfect.'
 432. תִּפְּלָה (תִּפְּלָה, *a.* תִּפְּלָה 'insipid,' תִּפְּלָה *tajila* 'become ill-smelling').
 **433. רָאָה (רָאָה, *inf.* רָאָה) 'languish.'

2. THE MEANING OF THE INTRANSITIVE VERB.

The great majority of the intransitive verbs in Hebrew denote a physical or mental condition, e. g. יָבֵשׁ 'be dry,' שָׁפַל 'be low,' יָרָא 'fear,' אָהַב 'love'; a passage into such a condition, e. g. גָּדַל 'increase, become great,' צָלַח 'succeed'; or a change of condition, e. g. אָבַד 'perish,' יָקַץ 'wake.' All of these come under the general category of verbs of *being* and *becoming*, for which the term 'stative' may be employed. Such verbs are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 14, 17, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 33, 36, 38, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 116, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 134, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 149, 150, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 162, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 184, 185, 192, 193, 196, 198, 200, 204, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 218, 221, 222, 232, 236, 247, 249, 252, 258, 259, 262, 264, 267, 269, 272, 275, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286, 291, 295, 297, 299, 300, 301, 307, 311, 312, 313, 315, 316(?), 318, 319, 321, 322, 324, 325, 326, 331, 336, 338, 339, 341, 343, 346, 348, 350, 351, 352, 353, 356, 358, 359, 362, 363, 365, 366, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 377, 378, 379, 385, 386, 387, 392, 394, 396, 401, 403, 405, 408, 410, 411, 412, 413, 416, 417, 418, 423, 425, 426, 429, 430, 431, 433.

[†] A modification of שֵׁתוֹ from שֵׁית 'put,' after the analogy of verbs mediæ geminatae. Similar forms are טָח from טָח 'despise,' טָח from טָח 'daub.'

Those stems from which only derivatives are made, no form of the *Qal* occurring (marked * in the list), and the following, occurring only as participle or infinitive, viz.: Nos. 13, 27, 42, 109, 174, 199, 355, 375, 399, do not give direct evidence as to the meaning of the verb, although meanings similar to those discussed above are indicated by the derivatives.

Of those verbs which have not distinctly stative meaning many are to be regarded as belonging to the transitive type.

1) In a number of stems, verbs with transitive form and active meaning have intransitive derivatives. In the majority of cases these derivatives point more or less surely towards the existence of a verb of intransitive form and stative meaning alongside of the transitive active verb, just as in the case of קָצַר 'cut off,' קָצַר 'be cut off, be short;' e. g. נִקְבָּה 'perforata, female' indicates the possibility of the former existence of a verb נִקַּב* 'be pierced, perforated': such are Nos. 19, 43 (cf. p. 36) 51, 52 (cf. p. 36) 55, 77, 91, 178, 197 (*a* impf. due to the guttural), 202, 213, 233, 248, 255, 274, 277, 314, 335, 354, 384, 388, 415.

In a few cases the apparently intransitive derivatives belong to the active verbs. In No. 404 the form קָטַל, in Nos. 129, 260, 395, the form קָטַל, and in Nos. 203, 205, 357, 421, the form קָטַל, is used to make abstract nouns of action: the use of these forms, which are regularly confined to intransitive verbs, has been extended in these few cases to the transitive verb. In No. 31 the adjective or participle בָּחוּן is best considered a form *qatal*, which is not a special intransitive form in Hebrew. In No. 239 נִשְׁמָה 'breath' is perhaps simply a concrete noun. Those verbs which have *a* imperfects owe these forms to the influence of the gutturals.

2) In the verbs *mediæ infirmæ* Nos. 81, 244, 304, 305, 306, 380, 381, 406, the *a* of the shortened imperfect is due to the guttural ך which is in all cases the final stem-consonant.¹ The intransi-

¹ It is to be noted that in all these cases the first stem-consonant is a sibilant. The only other verbs *mediæ infirmæ* with final ך, which make shortened *imperfects*, viz.: גּוּר 'sojourn,' גּוּר 'fear,' have the transitive form וַיִּגֹּר.

tive forms of Nos. 9, 15, 43, 52, 57, 123, 154, 215, 349, and (287) עתר 'pray' (cf. עטר 'atarā 'sacrifice') are probably to be explained in the same way.

3) In the verbs ל"ה Nos. 24, 179, 289 the only evidence as to the originality of the intransitive forms is furnished by the subjunctive of the cognate verbs in Ethiopic. These intransitive subjunctive forms are rare, in every case the transitive form being more common, and are probably due simply to the fact that in Ethiopic the transitive verbs have a tendency to assume the intransitive form in the subjunctive.¹

4) The feminine imperatives of Nos. 53 and 63, viz.: נחי 'drive forth,' Mic. iv. 10, דוש' 'tread,' Mic. iv. 13, both occur after an imperative of the active form, viz.: קומי ודושי; חולי וגחי; the apparent intransitive forms are no doubt due to dissimilation, standing for דושי, גוחי: cf. forms like נקומות for נקומות*²

5) The following also belong to the transitive type, viz.: 11. אכל 'eat,' originally of transitive form in the imperfect, as is shown by גאכל טאכל, יאכל *ǵa'kulu*, Ass. *ekul*; the *a* of the imperfect is probably due to dissimilation, *ǵōkal*, < **ǵōkōl*; cf. נאזל 'go' *nēzal* < **nēzēl*, the original characteristic vowel of the imperfect being *ē* < *i* as is shown by the imperative זל ו.³

54. גלל 'roll;' the only intransitive form *impr.* גל is perhaps a shortened imperative *Piel* from גלל.⁴

¹ Some transitive verbs like **qabara** 'bury,' **qatala** 'kill,' make in rare instances an *a* subjunctive, and in the modern dialects Amharic, Tigre, and Tigrīña all subjunctives have the *a* form. Cf. Prætorius, *Die Amharische Sprache*, Halle, 1879, p. 217; *Gram. d. Tigrīña Spr.*, Halle, 1871, p. 276; E. Littmann, *Das Verbum d. Tigre Spr.* ZA. xiv, p. 15.

² Cf. Stade, *Lehrb.*, § 599, b.

³ The characteristic *ē* of the imperfects of verbs יאכל, e.g. פ"א, יאכל, etc., seems to be due also to dissimilation, cf. יאחו but יאחו 'seize.'

⁴ Cf. Stade, *op. cit.* § 592, d.

140. יָרָה 'throw [lots];' this verb is a by-form of transitive יָרָה being modified from יָרָה just as שָׁתָה from שָׁתָה; cf. (429).

242. נָתַן 'give;' the only intransitive form is נָתַן in the collocation נָתַן-לָךְ 'we will give thee;' the characteristic *a* is a phonetic modification of the more original *i* due possibly to the following *a* vowel.

261. עִיט 'rush upon;' the *a* of the imperfect is due to the influence of the guttural ע.

400. שׁוּב 'return;' the single apparently intransitive form *inf.* שׁוּב is probably incorrectly pointed, perhaps on account of the defective writing.¹

The remaining verbs are more or less readily referable to a stative basis,² viz.:

1) Verbs indicating perceptions of the senses, the idea of these verbs being, not the active exercise of the perception, but the condition of the subject while exercising it, viz.: (135) טָעַם 'taste' *tr.*, (340) רָאָה 'see,' (419) שָׁמַע 'hear;' (328) קָסַם 'divine' is probably also to be classed here.

2) Verbs of flowing, overflowing, and dripping, since they indicate conditions rather than actions, viz.: (153) יָצַק 'flow [of blood],' (224) נָזַל 'flow,' (228) נָטַף 'drip,' (241) נָתַךְ 'overflow, be poured out,' (250) עָבַר 'overflow.'

3) Verbs of motion which indicate a change of state like אָבַד 'perish,' אָפַס 'be no more,' viz.: (40) בָּרַח 'flee,' (75) הָלַךְ 'go, depart, vanish,' (76) הָפַךְ 'turn, overturn, flee,' (292) פָּטַר 'get away, escape,' (294) פָּנָה 'turn,' (397) שָׁגַג 'go astray;' in these verbs the emphasis was originally on the idea of change of condition; הָלַךְ, however, has come to be in its ordinary use simply a verb of motion 'go'; in the stem הָפַךְ there may have been originally two verbs, e. g. הָפַךְ 'overturn, destroy,' and הָפַךְ* 'be overturned, destroyed' as in the stem קָצַר.

¹ Cf. Stade, *Lehrb.* § 619 f.

² Cf. Steintal-Misteli, *Charakteristik d. hauptsächlichsten Typen d. Sprachb.*, p. 458.

4) Verbs of *approaching* and *meeting*, the original idea being 'to be or become near, come in contact with,' viz.: Nos. 212, 288, 332, 333, 334.

5) Verbs meaning 'to be in or to assume a certain position,' the stative idea being more original, viz.: (41) כָּרַךְ 'kneel,' (49) גָּהַר 'bend down,' (344) רָבַע 'lie with,' (345) רָבַץ 'lie down, crouch,' (361) רָכַב 'ride, mount,' (407) שָׁכַב 'lie, recline,' (409) שָׁכַךְ 'sink, go down, bend down.'

6) Verbs denoting various kinds of cries and modes of speech, which may be spoken of as verbs of *utterance*, e. g. זָעַק 'cry out,' צָחַק 'laugh': these are to be considered similar to verbs which denote an emotional state, such as יָרָא 'fear,' שָׂמַח 're-joice,' since an emotion and its expression are closely connected in the minds of a primitive people; they are Nos. 18, 56, 86, 188, 208, 216, 217, 226, 303, 309, 317, 364, 368, 382, 391, 427. Here also is probably to be classed (187) לָעַג 'mock,' cf. Syriac.

7) Verbs which indicate various actions of the lips, mouth, and throat, such as sucking, licking, swallowing, etc.: these verbs must have referred originally to the specific quality of the action, rather than to the action as such; they are (34) בָּלַע 'swallow,' (148) יָנַק 'suck,' (189) לָעַע 'sip' (if it is not rather לָוַע), (237) נִשָּׁךְ 'bite.' Here are also probably to be classed (428) שָׁתָה 'drink,' and (240) נִשָּׁק 'kiss.'

8) The following verbs, which are best considered individually, viz.:

12. אָלַף 'learn,' originally 'be or become accustomed to,' cf. Arabic.

29. בָּוָא 'enter, come,' to be connected with the preposition בִּי 'in,' originally perhaps 'be or become inside' then to 'enter, come.'

32. בָּטַח 'trust,' indicates a condition of the mind like אָהַב 'love.'

35. בָּעַל 'rule over, possess,' denominative from בָּעַל 'lord,' meaning originally 'be lord, ruler.'

74. הָדָר 'honor, take the part of,' to be regarded like (32).

90. חָבַשׁ 'bind;' the single intransitive form indicates a characteristic of the deity, הוּא יְכַאֵב וַיַּחְבֵּשׁ 'he wounds and binds up,' and to this fact its intransitive form may be due.

98. חטא 'sin,' originally 'be without, miss' like חָטָא: *hat'a*.

107. חָמַס 'act violently to, hurt,' originally 'be violent,' cf. Arabic.

118. חָצַב 'hew;' the original idea of the verb was probably that of continuous action, which is analogous to state; the idea of simple action, however, has prevailed, the forms of the verb being regularly transitive.

133. טָחַן 'grind,' probably to be regarded as the preceding verb.

136. טָרַף 'tear, rend;' the single intransitive form that occurs indicates a quality, viz.: יָאֵב יִטְרֹף 'a wolf that ravens, a ravening wolf,' and may hence be regarded as stative.

146. יָלַד 'bear,' referred originally to the condition of the mother: the idea of action, however, seems to have prevailed, nearly all of the forms being transitive.

161. יָקַשׁ 'lay snares,' denominative from יָקַשׁ 'fowler,' meaning originally 'be a fowler.'

164. יָרַד 'descend;' the intransitive imperfect forms are used either in the idiom 'descend in tears' used of the eye, Jer. ix. 17, xiii. 17, xiv. 17, Lam. iii. 48, where the verb is practically equivalent to רָמַע 'be full of tears' or מָלֵא 'be full;' or they stand in pause, 2 Sam. xxii. 10, Ps. xviii. 10, Pr. xxx. 4, Job xvii. 16, where the *a* may be regarded as due to the influence of the ר, which was perhaps more strongly guttural in this position. When the verb means simply 'descend,' the forms are regularly transitive.

166. יָרַשׁ 'inherit,' originally 'be heir.'

182. לָבַשׁ 'put on,' originally 'be dressed, clothed.'

186. לָמַד 'learn,' originally be or become accustomed to,' cf. (12).

214. נָדַד 'flee,' perhaps originally 'dislike, hate,' cf. Syriac and ܩܠܝܐ *qaliia* 'hate, leave.'

219. נָוַד 'wander,' referred originally to the condition of the subject, cf. (222) נָוַע 'totter, tremble, move hither and thither, wander.'

225. נָחַל 'possess, inherit,' refers to a condition of the subject, cf. (166).

227. נחת 'descend,' perhaps to be connected with the verb נוח 'come to rest,' meaning originally 'be or become at rest,' 'settle down,' then 'descend.'

235. נקם 'take vengeance,' originally 'be revengeful.'

238. נשל 'take off, fall off or out;' the original meaning of the intransitive forms was 'be taken off, removed' then 'fall off.'

243. נתר 'leap up [of heart],' may refer to condition, rather than action, or the *a* of the imperfect may be due to the ך.

245. סלק 'ascend;' the single form which occurs is doubtless an Aramaism; the verb may have meant originally 'be or become high,' cf. (263).

246. סרח 'overhang, spread out freely,' perhaps originally 'be abundant, overflow.'

256. עז 'seek refuge;' if the intransitive infinitive is not simply due to assonance with the following word, viz.: לעז

במעוז פֿרעה 'to seek refuge in the refuge of Pharaoh,' it is to be considered as similar to (32) בטח 'trust;' cf. חסה 'seek refuge, trust.'

263. עלה 'ascend, go up,' originally 'be or become high,' cf. Arabic.

266. עמל 'fatigue, exert oneself, work,' originally 'be fatigued by hard work,' then simply 'work.'

273. עקב 'deceive,' originally 'be crooked, deceitful,' cf. derivatives.

282. עִשְׂק 'oppress;' the original meaning was probably 'be strong, violent,' cf. derivatives, (107), and Ass. *ešēqu* 'be strong, mighty.'

290. פוש 'spring, skip;' if the single intransitive form is not due to some phonetic modification, originally 'be lively.'

293. פלט 'escape,' originally 'remain alive,' cf. Ass. *balātū* 'live.'

296. פצר 'urge;' the original meaning may have been 'be hard upon,' the verb being then like (107), (282), or the *a* of the imperfect may be due to the ך.

298. פֿשט 'take off [clothes];' the single intransitive form is perhaps to be explained similarly to (182), originally 'be undressed, stripped.'

323. קיש 'lay snares;' יִקְשׁוּן is probably to be amended יִקְשׁוּ from (161) יִקֵּשׁ.

342. רַבַּב 'shoot;' the single doubtful intransitive form is usually so translated. If the form is correct, the meaning may be different; the verb is used intransitively and therefore may have had a stative meaning; it is perhaps to be connected with רַבַּב 'be great.' On the other hand the text may be corrupt.

367. רָעָה 'tend, pasture,' denotes an occupation, which is similar to a condition.

383. שָׁטַן 'oppose,' originally 'to be an adversary, be opposed to.'

390. שָׂאב 'draw [water],' perhaps originally 'have sufficient water,' like (351) רוּה, cf. Arabic.

393. שָׁאַל 'ask,' perhaps originally 'desire;' at least it is to be classed with verbs of 'desiring.'

398. שָׁגַל 'lie with;' the vocalization of the single intransitive form is that of the *Qere* שָׁכַב; it is possible, however, that the verb has originally stative meaning like שָׁכַב 'lie, be in a reclining position,' then 'lie with.'

414. שָׁלַט 'rule over,' originally indicated a condition, cf. Arabic.

In these verbs with more or less active meanings, which are to be referred to a stative basis, it is to be noticed that in a large number of cases the verb has prevalingly transitive form, intransitive forms being comparatively few. The general tendency for verbs of the intransitive type to pass over to the active (cf. p. 52) has here been aided by the meaning. Theoretically the majority of these verbs may be regarded as denoting either a condition or an action, and their intransitive forms may be explained as due to the fact that they, like those verbs which have undoubtedly stative meaning, were originally looked upon as denoting conditions by the primitive Semites.

Verbs which have transitive form regularly denote action of some sort, e. g. בָּרָא 'create,' הָרַג 'kill,' דָּקַר 'pierce,' כָּרַת 'cut,' פָּעַל 'do, make,' יָצָא 'go out,' כָּרַע 'kneel down,' רָמַשׁ 'creep,' etc., but there are a number of verbs with transitive form, or at least with no decisive intransitive form, that have meanings similar to those of the intransitive verbs. Excluding verbs ל"ה, which have only one type of inflection, and verbs mediæ infirmæ, almost all of which have transitive form without regard to meaning, these verbs are the following (*imperf.* = imper-

fect in *a*; other abbreviations, etc., as in the previous list; the numbering is consecutive to that of this list), viz.:

434. אחר *impf.* 'remain behind.'
 435. בחל 'be disgusted.'
 436. בחר *impf.* 'choose' (בַּחַר *baḥara* 'split').
 437. בטל 'rest, be still' (בָּטַל; בָּטַל *baṭila*; **ḥmḥ**: *ḫebtal*).
 438. בלל 'בלות' 'I am anointed,' Ps. xcii. 11; probably to be read בְּלוֹתַי 'anoint.'
 439. ברר 'hail.'
 440. ברק 'lighten' (J. L. בִּרְיָק 'shine').
 441. גוע *impf.* 'depart, die.'
 442. גרש 'stream forth.'
 443. גמל (*pt.* 'ready, ripe,' Is. xviii. 5) 'complete, make ready.'
 444. גמר 'complete, be complete.'
 445. געל *impf.* 'abominate.'
 446. געש *impf.* 'shake, totter.'
 447. גרס 'be crushed.'
 448. דגר 'brood, hatch' (J. L. T. דִּגֵּר 'heap up, collect').
 449. דלף 'drip' (דִּלַּף).
 450. רשא 'become green.'
 451. הלל 'shine.'
 452. הלל 'be foolish, godless.'
 453. זחל 'fear' (זָחַל).
 454. זכר 'remember' (זָכַר; **dhakara**; **Hhḥ**: *zakara*, subj. once **ḫēzkar**¹).
 455. זמם 'think, plan' (זָמַם 'hum, sound').
 456. זנח *impf.* 'despise, spurn' (זָנַח *zaniḥa* 'stink').
 457. זעם *impf.* *a* and *o* 'be angry with, punish, curse' (זָעַם 'reprehend').
 458. זרח *impf.* 'rise [of sun].'
 459. חבל 'act corruptly' (חָבַל *ḥabila* 'be corrupt, unsound, insane').

¹ Cf. p. 36, ft. nt. 1.

460. חָלַל 'be pierced.'
461. חָלַם 'become mature' (حَلِمَ *haluma* 'be healthy, virile').
462. חָלַם 'dream.'
463. חָלַף 'pass by, vanish, change' (J. L. חָלַף 'pass by, be gone').
464. חָמַר 'foam.'
465. חָרַג 'tremble' (حَرَجَ *harija* 'be narrow, straitened').
466. חָשַׁב 'consider, reckon, plan' (J. T. חָשַׁב; حَسِبَ *hasiba*).
467. חָשַׁק 'be bound to, hang to' (J. L. T. חָשַׁק 'bind').
468. טָפַשׁ 'be fat, dull, unfeeling' (J. L. T. טָפַשׁ 'be foolish'; تَفِيسَ *tafisa* 'be careless of one's appearance').
469. יָאֵב 'desire' (يَأَبَّ).
470. יָדַע *impf.* 'know.'
471. יָרַט 'be steep, plunge down; surrender.'
472. יָרַע 'despair, tremble' (وَرَعَ *yari'a* 'keep away from, avoid').
473. יָשַׁב 'sit, dwell' (يَتَبَّ).
474. כָּחַשׁ 'decrease, become lean.'
475. כָּמָה 'become weak, long for' (كَمِهَ *kamiha* 'become gray, weak-sighted').
476. כָּסַף 'long for.'
477. כָּשַׁל 'stumble.'
478. לָהַט *pt.* 'flaming' (لَهَّطَ 'kindle').
479. לָחַךְ *inf.* 'lick' (J. T. לָחַךְ; لَاحَ *lahika*).
480. לָעַז *pt.* 'speaking unintelligibly' (لَعَزَ 'speak indistinctly').
481. לָקַק 'lick, lap' (لَقَقَ *laqqa impf. u*).
482. מָאָס *impf.* 'spurn, despise' (J. מָאָס 'be sticky, soiled').
483. מָכַךְ 'sink down, be brought low' (مَكَدَ 'be scattered, despised').
484. מָלַךְ 'rule.'
485. מָעַד *impf.* 'be unsteady, slip, totter.'
486. מָעַל *impf. a and o* 'act faithlessly.'
487. מָצַץ 'suck' (T. מָצַץ; مَصَّصَتْ *maṣṣaṭa*).
488. מָרַד 'be disobedient, rebellious' (J. מָרַד; مَرَدَ 'be rebellious'; مَرَدَ *maruda*).

489. מִשַּׁל 'rule.'
490. מִשֵּׁשׁ 'feel, touch' (مسست *masista*).
491. מִתֵּק 'find pleasant, suck,' Job xxiv. 20.
492. נִבַּח *inf.* 'bark.'
493. נָהַר 'flow.'
494. נָטַר 'watch, keep, be angry.'
495. נָכַל *pt.* 'deceitful' (نكّل).
496. נָעַר 'growl, roar.'
497. נָפַל 'fall.'
498. נִצֵּץ *pt.* 'sparkling.'
499. נָקַע 'be alienated, estranged.'
500. נָשַׁב 'blow' (نשב, cf. J. נתיב).
501. נָשַׁף 'blow.'
502. נִשְׁתַּ 'become dry.'
503. נָשָׁן *pt.* 'shod' (سأن).
504. סָבַא 'drink, carouse.'
505. סָכַן 'attend, be useful, profit.'
506. סָלַח *impf.* 'forgive.'
507. סָמַר 'shudder.'
508. סָפַר 'lament' (L. ספר).
509. עָבַשׁ 'dry up' (عبس *'abisa*).
510. עָגַם 'be grieved.'
511. עָרַף *pt.* 'overhanging, exceeding' (L. עריף 'be more, preferable').
512. עָטַף 'be weak' (cf. غطب *'atiba* 'be powerless, die').
513. עָלַם } 'rejoice' (cf. a. עָלַז).
514. עָלַץ }
515. עָמַד 'stand.'
516. עָרַב 'become evening' (عرب; عרב *gariba*; عرا : *'arba*).
517. עָרַג 'long, cry for' (عرا : *'arga* 'ascend').
518. עָרַף 'drip' (cf. רעף below).
519. עָרַץ 'terrify, be afraid' (عرى *'ariṣa* 'be or become lively').
520. פָּזַן 'be dexterous.'
521. פָּחוּז *pt.* 'haughty, wanton' (L. T. פָּחוּז 'be frivolous'; فخر *fahiza* 'be proud, boast').

522. פסח *pt.* 'limping, halting' (فسح *fasiḥa* 'become corrupt, disordered').
523. פצח *pt.* 'rejoice' (فصح *faṣuḥa* 'be bright, clear').
524. פרח *impf.* 'bloom, be inflamed, break out.'
525. פשע *impf.* 'be rebellious' (cf. فسق *fasuqa* 'turn from right').
526. צהל *impf.* 'neigh.'
527. צלל *pt.* 'sink down' (ضلت *ḍalilta* 'err, go astray').
528. צלל *pt.* 'become dark' (ظلت *ẓalilta* 'be in night or day').
529. צמח *impf.* 'sprout forth.'
530. צמק *pt.* 'dry, dried up' (J. צמיק 'shrink').
531. צפר *pt.* 'contract, stick to.'
532. צרח *pt.* 'crying out.'
533. קדר *pt.* 'be or become dirty, dark, lament' (قذر *qadhira*, *qadhura* 'be dirty').¹
534. קפא *pt.* 'be condensed, congealed.'
535. קצף *pt.* 'be angry' (كاف *kaḥa* 'be afraid, angry, envy, revile').
536. קרן *pt.* 'be horned, emit rays.'
537. רגן *pt.* 'murmuring.'
538. רגע *pt.* 'palpitate,' Job vii. 5) 'stir up, terrify.'
539. רדף *pt.* 'follow, pursue' (T. ירדף; ردف *radīfa* 'be after, ride behind').
540. רחב *pt.* 'be wide, open' (J. L. T. רחב; رحب *raḥiba*, *raḥuba*; רחב: רחב *rəḥba*).
541. רחף *pt.* 'be weak, wabble' (خف *raḥifa* 'be soft, thin').
542. רחש *pt.* 'be excited, bubble up' (رأس *raʿa* 'creep, move').
543. רמס *pt.* 'become foul, full of worms,' Ex. xvi. 20).
544. רעף *pt.* 'drip' (رعف *raʿifa* 'flow').
545. רעץ *pt.* 'be broken, powerless,' Is. xlii. 4) 'break.'
546. שגב *pt.* 'be high, raised up.'
547. שכל *pt.* 'act wisely, have success' (T. נסכל 'recognize, know').
548. שער *pt.* 'know,' Deut. xxxii. 18 (شعر *šaʿara*).

¹ Cf. ZDMG. 40, 729.² Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 67, n.

549. שפֿכּ 'be sufficient' (נִסְפֿכּ נִסְפֿכּ, J. L. T. ספֿיכּ).
 550. שרד 'escape.'
 551. שרר 'rule.'
 552. שאף *impf.* 'pant for, thirst for' (cf. سَغِب sagiba 'be hungry').
 553. שרד 'be violent to, oppress, lay waste.'
 554. שטף 'stream forth plentifully, overflow.'
 555. שקט 'rest' (cf. שתק below).
 556. שקע *impf.* 'become low, sink down.'
 557. שקר 'deceive.'
 558. שתק 'subside, be still' (שתק מִשֵּׁק).
 559. תמה *impf.* 'be astonished, terrified.'
 560. תקן *inf.* 'be straight' (תִּקֵּן תִּקֵּן 'be firm').

The original intransitive form of the following of these verbs is indicated by the cognate languages, viz.: Nos. 437, 449, 453, 455, 459, 461, 463, 465, 466, 468, 469, 472, 475, 478, 479, 480, 483, 487, 488, 490, 495, 500, 503, 508, 509, 511, 516, 517, 519, 521, 522, 523, 527, 528, 530, 533, 535, 539, 540, 541, 542, 544, 547, 549, 558, 560, and perhaps Nos. 512, 525, 552.

In the following no decisive transitive verbal form occurs other than participle or infinitive, which are often made from intransitive verbs (cf. p. 59), so that they may have been originally intransitive, viz.: Nos. 435, 442, 447, 450, 492 (*inf.*), 493, 496, 498 (*pt.*), 499, 501, 504 (*pt.*, *inf.*), 510, 532 (*pt.*) 534 (*pt.*), 537 (*pt.*), 546, 550.

The following are best regarded as having been originally active in meaning, viz.: Nos. 436, 438, 443, 444, 448, 457, 458, 467, 489, 494, 505, 553; Nos. 456, 482, which bear a relation to the intransitive forms in the cognate languages similar to that of קָצַר 'cut off,' to קָצַר 'be cut off'; and (439) ברר 'hail,' (440) ברק 'lighten,' since such verbs are usually regarded in Semitic as actions of the sky, cf. Ar. بَرَقَتِ السَّمَاءُ *baraqat-i 'ssamā'u* 'the sky lightened,' etc.; No. 440, however, may have had intransitive form, cf. Aramaic: also

454. זכר 'remember,' perhaps originally 'to penetrate,' cf. זָכַר 'male,' ذَكَر *dhakar* 'membrum virile.' On the intransitive Ethiopic subjunctive cf. p. 36, ft. nt. 1.

473. **ישב** 'sit,' originally no doubt 'take a seat,' referring to the action; the Syriac verb has transitive form in the imperfect, and the intransitive perfect can hardly be regarded as decisive, since practically all verbs primæ *yod* in Syriac have the intransitive form.¹

477. **כשל** 'stumble,' originally 'strike against.'

481. **לקק** 'lick, lap;' the action of lapping was probably more prominent than in other verbs of licking and sucking.

497. **נפל** 'fall,' probably regarded simply as an action; **وقع** *yaqa'a* 'fall,' has also the transitive form.

515. **עמד** 'stand,' originally denoted action, 'take one's stand.'

A few denominative verbs follow the transitive as being the prevailing verbal type, viz.: Nos. 462, 464, 484, 536, 551.

The verbal forms of (460) **חלל** 'be pierced' are doubtful, the perfect **חלל** Ps. cix. 22, is perhaps to be read as the adjective **חלל** 'pierced,' or to be considered like the denominatives above. The only form of (545) **רצץ** which has stative meaning is made on the analogy of verbs **ע"ו** which have practically all assumed the transitive form without regard to meaning.

The remaining verbs may have had intransitive form originally, their transitive form being due to the general tendency of the intransitive verbs to pass over to the active type (cf. p. 52), though in some cases it is also possible that the original meaning was active, viz.: Nos. 434, 441, 445, 446, 451, 452, 470, 471, 474, 476, 485, 486, 491, 502, 506, 507, 513, 514, 518, 520, 524, 526, 529, 531, 538, 543, 548, 554, 555, 556, 557, 559.

These exceptions to the rule that the verbs of transitive form denote action are therefore only apparent; a large number are shown by the cognate languages to have had originally the intransitive form, while a number are to be regarded as originally denoting action; those verbs about which no conclusive statement can be made are few in number, and are to be explained in one or the other of the above ways.

The fundamental difference, therefore, between the so-called transitive and intransitive verbs, to judge simply from the meaning of the verbs themselves, may very well have been a differ-

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*,² p. 115.

ence between action and state, but it is also theoretically possible to explain the difference, in a large number of instances, as one between volition and non-volition.

Generally speaking, active verbs may be regarded as voluntary, and stative verbs as involuntary, inasmuch as actions are usually the result of an exercise of volition, while states and changes of state are usually independent of the will; verbs of becoming, like גבר 'increase, become great,' and verbs which indicate a change of state, e. g. אבד 'become lost, perish,' are very near to the involuntary idea; emotions (e. g. אהב 'love') and perceptions (e. g. שמע 'hear') are independent of the will; cries and modes of utterance (e. g. זעק 'cry out') are often involuntary; there is an involuntary element in swallowing (בלע), since food which passes a certain point in the throat must go down; sucking (ינק) may be regarded as the half conscious involuntary act of an infant; kissing (נישק) is difficult for the lover to resist, hence involuntary; verbs denoting an action accompanied by exertion (e. g. חצב 'hew,' טחן 'grind') may be looked upon as analogous to involuntary verbs, since people are usually unwilling to perform hard work; learning (למד) is hard work, hence to be regarded as the above; bearing children (ילד) is involuntary; taking vengeance (נקם) was incumbent upon every primitive Semite, hence independent of his will; riding (רכב) might have been looked upon as involuntary 'to be carried' as in Latin *vehor*; and similar explanations may be offered for many other verbs.

It is questionable, however, whether the idea of volition would naturally enter at all into verbs which indicate simply states and conditions, such as, e. g. יטב 'be good,' עצם 'be strong, mighty,' etc. There is, moreover, no intransitive verb, the meaning of which requires necessarily to be explained on an involuntary basis; and it is strange, if the original meaning of the intransitive verbs was involuntary, that such verbs as מצא 'find,' נפל 'fall,' present no trace of intransitive form.

It is, of course, possible that a primitive people should distinguish in form between verbs implying volition and those implying non-volition, but it seems much more likely that they should have been impressed by the more commonplace and more apparent distinction between state and action. Besides, if voli-

tion had been the principle of division between the two verbal types, we should expect to find a distinction between voluntary and involuntary actions, and perhaps between voluntary and involuntary states, in the same verbal stem; such as, for example, 'to kill voluntarily' and 'to kill involuntarily, by accident;' 'to strike voluntarily' and 'to strike involuntarily, butt into,' 'to be good voluntarily' and 'to be good perforce,' etc.; but no instances of this kind occur. On the contrary, in those stems where both verbal types are made, the distinction is regularly that of action and state, e. g.:

יָרַק 'crush'	נָק 'be crushed, fine,'
יָחַלַשׁ 'weaken'	יָחַלַשׁ 'be weak,'
חָרַב <i>impr.</i> 'devastate'	יָחַרַב 'be desolate,'
יָצַק 'pour out'	וַיִּצֶק 'be poured out, flow,'
מָלֵא 'fill'	מָלֵא 'be full,'
פָּטַר 'free'	וַיִּפְטֹר 'get away, escape,'
צָרַר 'bind'	צָר 'be pressed together, narrow,'
קָצַר 'cut off'	קָצַר 'be cut off, short.'

That the fundamental idea of these so-called intransitive verbal forms was that of state or condition seems also to be shown by the fact that in all probability the intransitive perfects have their origin in verbalized adjectives of the forms *qatil* and *qatul*, such as, e. g. כָּבֵד 'heavy' and קָטַן 'small,' which regularly denote conditions and qualities.¹

Granted, then, that the original meaning of these verbs was stative, the fact that a number of them have more or less involuntary meaning admits of a ready explanation. From the idea of becoming, in which originally there was in all probability no idea of volition, the idea of becoming, happening independently of the will, might very readily be developed, and this may

¹ A similar relation exists in Tagalog, the most important language of the Philippine Islands, between the special intransitive verbal forms and the adjectives, both being made by prefixing the particle *ma* to the root, e. g., *ma-ḡinong* 'know' and 'learned.' Cf. my paper on *Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog*, JHU. Circ. No. 163, p. 66.

have taken place in the case of verbs with more or less involuntary meaning. After this involuntary type was once established, it is of course possible that it should have become independently productive, and that verbs expressing an involuntary action not derived from more original stative verbs should take the intransitive form. Such a process, however, does not seem to have taken place in Hebrew.¹

The so-called intransitive verbs, therefore, to judge from the material in Hebrew, seem originally to have denoted states or conditions or a change of state, while the transitive verbs denoted actions.² The terms most suitable for expressing this distinction are those proposed by Böttcher (cf. p. 6, ft. nt. 1), viz.: *stative* and *active*.

3. THE INTRANSITIVE FORMS.

The so-called intransitive verb in Semitic is of two types, one with *u* perfect, the other with *i* perfect. In Hebrew the latter is the more usual type, the *u* perfect being comparatively rare, occurring only in Nos. 7, 30, 82, 88, 132(?), 139, 145, 161, 324, 342, 363, 410. Both types have a imperfect, unlike Arabic, where the *u* perfect has an *u* imperfect, e. g. כָּבֵד, כָּבֵד 'be heavy,' קָטַן, קָטַן 'be small.'

In verbs mediæ geminatae no *i* perfect occurs except the tri-consonantal forms Nos. 284, 417, and the *u* perfect is very rare, occurring only in the 3. *m. pl.* in Nos. 88, 342, 363, e. g. רָמוּ 'be high,' *rōmmā* < *rummā* < *rumā*; the intransitive perfect has usually the form קָטַ. This is not to be regarded as a contraction of *qatit* but as a biconsonantal *a* perfect *qat* < *qatta* < *qata* (cf. p. 2, ft. nt. 1). The reason for its use as a special

¹ In Tagalog, on the contrary, the adjectival particle *ma* has acquired a distinct involuntary force. Cf. *ma-patihûlog* 'fall involuntarily,' *ma-patiḍapá* 'prostrate oneself involuntarily' with *mag-patihûlog* 'throw oneself,' *mag-patiḍapá* 'prostrate oneself,' made with active verbal particle *mag*.

² This is borne out by the evidence of the cognate languages Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, where the majority of the intransitive verbs have a stative meaning, and those which are not plainly stative may be more or less readily explained on a stative basis; cf. p. 1, ft. nt. 1.

intransitive form in Hebrew is not clear.¹ Verbs of this class have usually imperfects like יחם 'be hot,' *îḥam* < *îḥammu* < *îḥamu*, or like ירל 'be weak,' made after the analogy of verbs פ. Imperfects of the first kind occur in Nos. 106, 204, 319, 325, 362, 369, 417, 431; of the second kind in Nos. 57 (cf. p. 36), 66, 106, 198, 312, 431. Nos. 110, 214 make triconsonantal imperfects; (188) לעע makes ילע (?). The imperative of the form קט does not occur; on גלל cf. p. 36. Biconsonantal imperfects of the type יחם from verbs פ. are Nos. 141, 142, 146, 156, 158, 160, 164; biconsonantal imperatives of the type קט from verbs פ. Nos. 153, 166; from verbs פ. Nos. 212, 238.

Verbs mediæ infirmæ have almost all conformed to the transitive type. *I* perfects are Nos. 193, 290 (?), e. g. מת 'die,' *mēt* < *mit*; *u* perfects are Nos. 7, 30, 82, 132 (?), e. g. בוש 'be ashamed,' *bōš* < *buš*; imperfects in *ô* < *ā* < *a* are made from Nos. 7, 29, 30, 62, 95, 323 (?), e. g. בוש; imperfects in *a*, excluding transitive verbs (cf. p. 35 ff.), from Nos. 184, 221, 222, 262 (?), e. g. ילן 'spend night.' In verbs of this class there seem to have been two kinds of lengthening; a common Semitic lengthening, represented by the imperfects in *ô*, due to the desire to conform the biconsonantal form to the triconsonantal type, and a secondary Hebrew lengthening, represented by the perfects in *ē* and *ō*, due to the accent.² The so-called shortened imperfects in *a* probably represent the original biconsonantal stage with short vowel like Arabic jussive يَف *îahaf*.

¹ In Ethiopic, also, intransitive verbs mediæ geminatæ have short perfects like ሐመ : *ḥamma* 'be sick.' Here, however, their use as special intransitive forms admits of an explanation. These forms, which are no doubt derived from biconsonantal forms like **ḥama*, were regarded as contracted from **ḥamēma*, etc., just as ለሰሰ : *labsa* 'put on,' from *labēsa*.

² The transitive perfect forms like קם 'rise' also represent this kind of lengthening, e. g. *qām* < *qam*, while Syriac قام *qām*, Arabic قام *qāma* represent the first kind of lengthening. Hebrew קם bears the same relation to Syriac قام, Arabic قام, as Hebrew מת bears to Syriac میت *mīt*.

In some cases verbs of both transitive and intransitive types are made from the same stem, viz.: in Nos. 71, 103, 119, 153, 196, 292, 319, 331, and perhaps in 238, where נָשַׁל means both 'take off' and 'fall out,' יָשַׁל 'to fall off,' and שָׁל 'take off,' the forms and meaning being more or less mixed. (Cf. p. 49.)

A complete series of intransitive forms have been preserved in comparatively few verbs. There is a strong tendency for verbs of the intransitive type to pass over to the more usual transitive type, the tendency manifesting itself especially in the perfect, and particularly in the perfect with characteristic *i* vowel.

To this tendency is due the fact that almost all intransitive verbs have transitive form in the first and second persons, e. g. כָּבַדְתִּי, כָּבַדְתָּ 'be heavy,' מָתָה, מָתָה 'die.' In the few *u* perfects which occur in Hebrew, the characteristic intransitive vowel is regularly preserved in the first and second persons when these forms occur, viz.: in Nos. 30, 139, 145, 161, 324, 410, e. g. יָגַדְתִּי, יָגַדְתָּ 'fear,' בִּשְׁתָּה, בִּשְׁתָּה 'be ashamed,' accented *u* being lengthened to *ō* even in a closed syllable. Short *o* is preserved in an unaccented syllable in יִכְלִיתִי Ps. xiii. 5, and וִיכְלִתִּי Ex. xviii, 23. Only in שִׁכְלִיתִי 'be childless' Gen. xliii. 14, *i. p.* does the transitive form occur, perhaps an intentional differentiation from שִׁכְלִיתִי which directly precedes. In the case of *i* perfects, disregarding verbs לָהֶם, intransitive forms have been preserved only in verbs לָהֶם, Nos. 134, 162 (also לָהֶם Josh. iv. 24), 196, 313, 386, e. g. מָלֵאתִי, מָלֵאתִי 'be full,' and in certain forms of the verbs (146) יָלַד 'bear,' (166) יָרַשׁ 'inherit,' (393) שָׁאַל 'ask,' and (290) פּוֹשַׁת 'spring, skip';² e. g. פָּשַׁתְּם, שָׁאַלְתִּי, יָרַשְׁתֶּם, יָלַדְתֶּם, in which last the characteristic vowel occurs in an unaccented closed syllable, and is preserved in its original short form *i*. In the case of verbs

¹ This is also the case in Ethiopic where all transitive verbs except verbs mediæ gutturalis have transitive forms in these persons, e. g. ለበሐረ: labaska. ለበሐረ: labaskû 'put on'; but አሕደክ: kəḥēdkā, አሕደክ: kəḥēdkû 'deny.'

² Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 44, d.

ל'ה, which were more originally ל'ה, representing both ל'ה and ל'ה, however, the tendency to pass from intransitive to transitive type has not been operative in the first and second persons. Here, on the other hand, the intransitive has prevailed completely over the transitive type, all verbs having intransitive forms without regard to their meaning,¹ e. g.

גלית < *galiṭa* 'reveal,'

אבית < *'abiṭa* 'be willing.'

The extension of the *i* vowel in verbs of this class was perhaps due to the influence of the third stem consonant yod. The intransitive is also the only type in the imperfect, all verbs having forms like יגלה < *iḡlaḡ*. Stems of this class which are included in the above list are Nos. 2, 8, 24, 33, 45, 61, 78, 83, 93, 99, 150, 172, 175, 179, 181, 194, 220, 230, 236, 249, 263, 269, 276, 289, 294, 297, 299, 300, 322, 334, 339, 340, 343, 351, 354, 367, 372, 373, 379, 392, 395, 401, 413, 428. With the exception of (413) שלה, which is treated like a strong verb, these stems are not included in the following lists of verbal forms.

Intransitive forms are preserved in both perfect and imperfect in comparatively few cases, viz.: verbs with *u* perfect, Nos. 7, 30, 145, 324, 410; verbs with *i* perfect, Nos. 6, 23, 47, 48, 60, 87, 108, 111, 113, 115, 116, 131, 134, 137, 146, 149, 162, 166, 171, 180, 182, 196, 232, 311, 313, 321, 331, 333, 365, 378, 385, 386, 393, 408, 416, 417, 419, 423; verbs mediæ geminatæ with short perfects, Nos. 66, 106, 188(?), 204, 319, 325, 362, 369, 431. The corresponding verbal adjectives which are identical in form with the 3. s. m. perfect, are found in the following of these verbs: *u* perfects, Nos. 7, 30, 324; *i* perfects, Nos. 23, 48, 60, 87, 108, 111, 113, 115, 134, 137, 149, 162, 171, 196, 313, 321, 331, 333, 365, 378, 385, 408, 416, 417; short perfects mediæ geminatæ, Nos. 66, 106, 204, 319, 325, 362, 369, 431. In a number of

¹ The intransitive type has also apparently prevailed over the transitive in the first and second persons perfect of verbs mediæ infirmæ in Arabic, all verbs having characteristic *i* or *u* in these forms without regard to meaning, e. g. قلت *qulta*, *qultu* 'say,' سرت *sirta*, *sirtu* 'journey;' cf. Philippi in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie u. Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 20, 1890, p. 355.

these verbs transitive by-forms¹ of the third person perfect also occur, viz.: verbs with *i* perfect, e. g. דָּבַק and דָּבַק 'stick to,' Nos. 6, 23, 47, 48, 60, 146, 166, 171, 182, 321, 333, 378, 385, 393, 408, 419; verbs mediæ geminatæ,² (66) דָּלַל and דָּלַל 'be weak.' Only in Nos. 115, 146, 166 (*impr.*), 331, 333 (*impr.*); 106, 369 (*impr.*), 417, however, are transitive by-forms of the imperfect found, the imperfect in general resisting the tendency towards the transitive type better than the perfect.

In a few instances intransitive verbal forms are preserved only in the perfect, viz.: *u* perfects, Nos. 82, 88, 132(?), 139, 161, 342, 363; *i* perfects, Nos. 21, 38, 72, 118, 193, 209, 272, 284, 290(?), 326, 411; short perfects mediæ geminatæ, Nos. 65, 68, 71, 84, 92, 100, 125, 128, 140 (cf. p. 37), 189, 295, 307, 341, 403, 429. The corresponding verbal adjectives are made in Nos. 132(?), 139, 161; 38, 72, 193, 411; 71, 84, 92, 100, 128, 307, 341, 403; in the mediæ geminatæ stem 125, an adjective of the form קָטַל is made. Transitive by-forms of the perfect occur in Nos. 82; 272, 290, 326, 411; 403. Nos. 118, 193, 209, 290, 411; 68, 403, have transitive imperfects in *u*, No. 128, a transitive imperative; in the other verbs the imperfect does not occur or is indecisive.

The moribund condition of the intransitive perfect is made still further evident by the fact that a large number of the forms of the *i* perfect occur in pause, a position in which archaic forms that have been lost elsewhere are often preserved. The following occur only in pause, viz.: Nos. 23, 38, 47, 60, 72, 108, 111, 116, 146, 149, 171, 232, 272, 284, 311, 313, 321, 326, 333, 365, 378, 385, 411, 417, 419.

In a large number of verbs, the intransitive perfect is not preserved, intransitive verbal forms occurring only in the imperfect or imperative. Verbs of this kind, excluding those which have been shown to be of the transitive type, cf. p. 35, are the following, viz.: Nos. 1, 3, 12, 14, 17, 22, 25, 26, 29, 32, 34,

¹ By transitive by-forms are meant those transitive forms which have the same meaning as the intransitive; they are to be distinguished from those transitive forms which have meanings opposite to those of the intransitive; cf. p. 49.

² שָׁמַח (417) can not be considered a transitive form, since all the perfect forms follow the analogy of the triconsonantal verb.

35, 36, 40, 41, 46, 49, 56, 58, 62, 67, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 85, 86, 90, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101, 103, 110, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 126, 127, 130, 133, 135, 136, 138, 141, 142, 144, 148, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 164, 167, 168, 170, 176, 177, 184, 186, 187, 198, 200, 206, 207, 208, 211, 212, 214, 217, 221, 222, 224, 225, 227, 237, 238, 240, 241, 243, 245, 246, 252, 262(?), 275, 281, 283, 286, 288, 291, 292, 296, 298, 301, 303, 309, 312, 315, 316, 317, 318, 323(?), 328, 332, 336(?), 338, 345, 346, 350 (*impr.*), 352, 356, 358, 359, 361, 366, 368, 370, 371, 374, 377, 382, 390, 391, 396, 398, 407, 412, 413, 414, 418.

In those Nos. given in italics the perfect does not occur, or is indecisive; in the remainder the perfect has the transitive form. The imperfect has a transitive by-form in the following, viz.: *i* imperfect, Nos. 1, 75, 164, 184, 312; *u* imperfect, Nos. 26, 75, 90, 95, 136, 212 (*impr.*), 214, 221, 222, 237, 240, 288, 298, 328, 396; the transitive imperfect is in most cases the regular form. The former existence of intransitive perfects is indicated by the verbal adjectives in the following: *u* perfects in Nos. 14(?), 22, 26(?), 46, 127, 200, 206, 211, 318(?), 358, 359; *i* perfects in Nos. 3, 22, 85, 94, 97, 119, 120, 138, 167, 187, 227(?), 262, 275, 281, 286, 358, 413, 418, mediæ infirmæ 184.

Intransitive imperatives occur from the following verbs, viz.: Nos. 6, 14, 32, 40, 56, 86, 94, 97, 101, 119, 131, 153, 162, 166, 182, 212, 238, 311, 317, 333, 346, 350, 361, 378, 385, 393, 407, 416, 419, mediæ infirmæ 7, 29, 30. The imperatives (153) **צַק** and (238) **שַׁל** are intransitive forms used with the meaning of the transitive verbs **יִצַק** 'pour out,' **יִשַׁל** 'take off.'

When no decisive intransitive verbal form is preserved, the intransitive derivatives often give evidence of the original intransitive form of a verb, as e. g. in Nos. 44, 104, 107, 114, 185, 192, 207, 339, 409, etc. When no form of *Qal* is made in a certain stem, intransitive derivatives often indicate the possibility of the former existence of the corresponding intransitive verb, as e. g. in Nos. 10, 20, 37, 59, 64, 117, 173, 194, 308, 424, etc. In some instances intransitive derivatives occurring with transitive active verbs indicate the former existence of intransitive verbs of the same stem, cf. p. 35. Sometimes the apparently intransitive derivatives really belong to transitive active verbs, as in Nos. 205, 260, 357, etc. For the sake of convenience complete lists of the various intransitive derivatives

are here given. A number of nouns which were in all probability originally adjectives, and concrete nouns which seem to be derived from more original abstracts, are included.

Adjectives of the form קטל are made from the following, viz.: Nos. 3, 4(?), 13, 20, 22, 23, 38, 44, 48, 51, 60, 72, 85, 87, 89, 94, 97, 108, 111, 113, 115, 119, 120, 125, 134, 137, 138, 143, 149, 151, 162, 163(?), 167, 169, 171, 187, 190, 196, 227(?), 229, 262, 264, 266, 267, 270, 271, 275, 277, 281, 286, 293, 313, 321, 331, 333, 347, 358, 365, 378, 385, 408, 411, 413, 416, 417, 418, 426, 432. The construct state of the majority of these adjectives has the form קטל, probably due to metaplasm with adjectives of the form קטל c. קטל like שפל 'low,' viz.: Nos. 87, 94, 113, 171, 277, 331, 378, 411. No. 3 and the adjectives ל"א, Nos. 134, 162, 196, however, make their construct regularly, e. g. אבל 'mourning,' מלא 'full;'; Nos. 22, 171, 277, make constructs from the form qatl, syncopated from qatil, e. g. ערל 'uncircumcised.'¹

Adjectives of the form קטל are made from the following; with feminine קטלה or plural קטלים probably representing original *qatul in every case,² Nos. 5, 10, 14(?), 22, 39, 127, 171, 200, 234, 251, 253, 267, 268, 273, 274, 278, 389; with the feminine קטלה or plural קטלים. Nos. 26(?), 46, 48, 91, 111, 204, 211, 231, 310, 321, 333, 358, 387, 405; feminine or plural does not occur, or is made from the form קטול, Nos. 31, 109, 112, 139, 161, 165, 202, 206, 282, 285, 302, 318(?), 324, 355, 359. In the last two lists, the italicized forms seem to represent the form qatul, as is indicated by the *u* perfects in Hebrew and Arabic; יקש 'bird-catcher' (161) may represent the form qatāl, since the perfect in this case is based on the nominal form. The remainder may represent either qatul or qatāl; בחון 'spy' (31)

¹ Cf. the construct state גרר, ירך, בתך, of the nouns גרר 'wall,' ירך 'thigh,' בתך 'shoulder.'

² Cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* 2, 1, 84; Stade, *Lehrb.* §§ 204, b; 71, 3; Olshausen, *Lehrb.* § 168, b.

is most probably of the latter form. The construct state of the adjectives in the last two lists has the form קטל, e. g.

גָּדֹל 'great,' קָטָן 'small;' in גָּבֹהַ from גִּבְהַ 'high' (46), the *a* is due to the guttural. No construct state of the adjectives in the first list occurs.

In a number of stems verbal adjectives of both forms קָטַל and קָטַלְתָּ, or an *i* perfect and an adjective of the form קָטַל are made, viz.: Nos. 22, 48, 131, 171, 267, 321, 333, 358; in Nos. 127, 204 an adjective קָטַל and verbal noun קָטִיל are made. This seems to indicate that originally in Hebrew *i* and *u* perfects were made from the same stem, as quite frequently in Arabic, e. g.

بہ *bahija* 'be joyful,' *bahija* 'be beautiful;'

خزن *hazina, hazuna* 'be altered for the worse in odor;' etc.

Adjectives of the forms קָט and קֵט from stems mediæ infirmæ are made from the following, viz.: קָט, Nos. 50, 79, 173, 184, 185, 193, 195(?), 219(?), 223, 255, 258, 360; קֵט, Nos. 7, 30, 132(?); adjectives of the form קֶט, from stems mediæ geminatae from the following, viz.: Nos. 43, 64, 66, 71, 84, 92, 100, 106, 114, 128, 199(?), 201, 204, 247, 259, 307, 319, 325, 337, 341, 362, 369, 376, 403, 431; adjectives like בָּלָה from stems ר'ל, from the following, viz.: Nos. 33, 61, 78, 99(?), 150, 175, 194, 220(?), 230, 263, 276, 300, 334, 339, 340, 351, 354, 372, 401. The construct states of the last class have forms like קִשָּׁה 'hard.' These adjectives are usually regarded as contracted from the form *qatal*, e. g. *qašē* < *qašai*, and as the regular contraction of the diphthong *ai* is 'ֿ, הֿֿֿ which represents the same sound is perhaps more original than הֿֿֿ, the more original form being preserved in the construct connection, while the ending of the absolute state has been modified; cf. feminine nouns like מִוֶּסֶה constr. מִוֶּסֶת 'mare.'

Infinitives of the form קטל are very rare, occurring from stative verbs only in Nos. 106(?), 110, 407, 423; in active verbs like שלח 'send,' the *a* of the infinitive is due to the guttural. Infinitives of the form קט from stative verbs mediæ geminatae are made in the following, viz.: Nos. 204, 319, 362, 369, 409; all except the last may be simply the verbal adjectives of the same form used as a noun; in 369 the infinitive form may be perfect.¹ In Nos. 43 and 349, the *a* of the infinitive is probably due to the guttural ר. Infinitives of the form קוט from verbs mediæ infirmæ are made from the following, viz.: Nos. 29, 30, 192, 221, 222, 256, 353; in 400 the form is probably corrupt. Infinitives of the form קטלה are made from Nos. 6, 23, 340, 433; of the form קטלה, from Nos. 87, 97, 105, 162, 332, 344, 386; of the form קטלה "ק, from Nos. 46, 60, 97, 105, 108, 134, 203, 205, 333, 357, 358, 412, 419. In 203, 205, 357 the form קטלה is used as the infinitive of active verbs. These last three classes are verbal nouns used as infinitives.

As simple verbal nouns, קטל occurs in Nos. 6, 8, 14, 23, 45, 80, 183, 225, 226(?), 257, 271, 291, 308, 320, 392(?), 402, 404, 413, 430; קטלה, in Nos. 32, 69, 87, 89, 93, 97, 102, 104, 105, 122, 129, 152, 162, 168(?), 176, 205, 250, 254, 260, 276, 313, 320, 327, 348, 361, 375, 377, 378, 383, 385, 386, 395, 420, 423, 424, 425, 432; קטלה "ק, in Nos. 13, 97, 101, 105, 117, 119, 131, 134, 272, 273, 280, 282, 335, 346, 378, 421. In Nos. 129, 205, 260, 395, 404, 421, they are nouns of action from active verbs.

Verbal nouns of the form קטל are made from the following, viz.: Nos. 23, 27, 74, 107, 138, 165, 174, 178, 228, 235, 266, 281, 286, 313, 365, 374, 378, 384, 415, 418(?); verbal nouns of the form קטלה, which is a specially frequent derivative from verbs of utterance like זעק 'cry out,' from the following, viz.: Nos. 13, 16, 18, 37, 42, 56, 58, 68, 74, 80, 86, 98, 120, 147, 157, 168(?), 207, 208, 210, 213, 216, 218, 226(?), 235, 252, 265, 269, 301, 303, 315, 317, 329, 330, 333(?) 341, 351, 352, 364, 366, 391, 393, 397, 407, 417, 422, 433; נשמה 'breath' (239) is

¹ Cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* I, 339; Stade, *Lehrb.* § 619, b; Olshausen, *Lehrb.* p. 531.

to be regarded as concrete, קָלַל 'cursing' (325) is made from the *Piel* קָלַל 'curse' on the analogy of בָּרַךְ 'blessing'; verbal nouns of the form קָטַל are made from the following, viz.: Nos. 1, 19, 20, 28, 36, 42, 51, 52, 55, 59, 76, 77, 127, 136, 166, 191, 196, 197, 204, 209, 233, 279, 293, 314, 388, 393, 399, 423, 427. The verbal nouns in Nos. 248 and 394 are also to be regarded as intransitive.

The same tendency to pass over to the transitive type which was observed in connection with the verbal forms is found also to a certain extent in the nominal derivatives. A number of stative verbs, especially such as are more or less active in meaning, make participles and infinitives of the transitive form.

Verbs with intransitive form in perfect or imperfect, excluding those which belong to the transitive type (cf. p. 35), which make such derivatives are the following, viz.:

1) Participles of the form קָטַל, Nos. 1, 6, 26, 32, 35, 36, 40, 56, 58, 67, 75, 85, 90, 98, 110, 118, 122, 133, 136, 146, 148, 156, 161, 164, 166, 170, 182, 187, 209, 214, 224, 237, 246, 252, 298, 317, 318, 328, 332, 345, 361, 370, 386, 390, 391, 393, 407, 408, 411, 416, 417, 419.

2) Infinitives of the form קָטַל, s. קָטַלִּי (suffixal forms like בָּלַע־י, צַעֲדֶךָ are indecisive, as they may represent either קָטַל or קָטַל; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 61, b) Nos. 1, 6, 26, 32, 34, 40, 46, 56, 67, 75, 86, 90, 94, 97(s.), 98, 118, 122(?), 136, 137, 162, 167, 177, 182, 186(s.), 200, 209, 214, 225, 240, 272(s.), 288, 317, 328, 333, 358, 361, 378, 382, 385, 386, 390, 393, 403, 407(s.), 411, 414, 419; מָלַא (196) makes the infinitive מָלַא־ת after the analogy of verbs לָלַח¹ and similar forms are made also in Nos. 98 and 386; the infinitive of יָכַל (145) is the feminine form יָכַלְת, a form which is also made from No. 137.²

¹ Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.* § 74, h; also König, *Lehrgeb.*, I, 611; Stade, *Lehrb.*, § 201, b.

² These infinitives may represent the feminine of a form *qatâl*, as in שָׁלֹשֶׁת 'three'; cf. Stade, *op. cit.* § 208, c; Olshausen, *Lehrb.*, p. 333, top.

3) Passive participles of the form קָטוּל, Nos. 6, 32, 35, 74, 90, 118, 146, 182, 186, 237, 246, 272, 386, 393, 410, 411, 412, 416(?), 419; these are in some cases simply verbal adjectives, as e. g. in Nos. 32, 410, etc.

Verbs ל"ה which make participles like נִלָּה as well as verbal adjectives like בָּלָה are Nos. 78, 263, 334, 340, 401; in all except Nos. 78, 340, the verbal adjectives are used only as nouns.

Verbs mediæ infirmæ have for the most part completely passed over to the transitive type: participles of the form קָט are therefore to be expected from any verb of this class, whatever the meaning; such participles from verbs which have preserved intransitive form either in verbal forms or derivatives are made in Nos. 29, 50, 80, 82, 192, 219, 222, 353.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE was born in Baltimore, Maryland, February 9, 1875. He received his common school education in the public schools of that city, graduating from the City College in 1894. He took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts at the Johns Hopkins University in 1897, having followed, besides the required courses in the Modern Language group, courses in Sanskrit, Comparative Philology, Hebrew, and Arabic. From 1897 to 1901 he pursued the study of Philology in the post-graduate department of the same University. The course of his study included Germanic Languages under Professor Wood, Sanskrit and Comparative Philology under Professor Bloomfield, and Semitic Philology under Professor Haupt. He absolved the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in October, 1901, but the degree was not conferred until 1902.

